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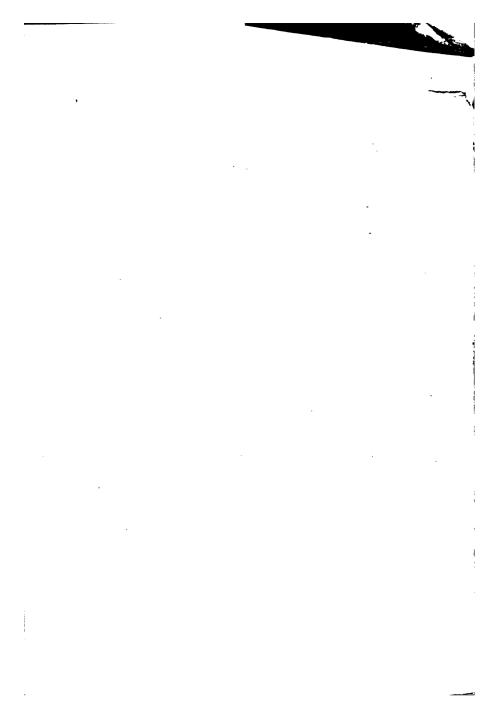
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# GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

1689-1887

EDITED B

W. SCOTT DALGLEISH, M.A., LL:D.,

Author of "The Great Authors of English Literature,"
"Higher-Grade English,"

&c. &c.



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# PREFACE.

THE preference now generally shown for the plan of teaching History in periods is proof of a desire to study the subject systematically and thoroughly. This series of Histories is intended to facilitate and encourage that method.

The Periods of English History adopted are suggested by great Constitutional Features. They are also those of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, and of other schemes of the same kind, namely:—

- MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND, from the English Settlement to the Dawn of the Reformation: 449-1509.
- II. England of the Reformation and the Revolution: 1509-1688.
- III. GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, from the Revolution to the last Reform Acts: 1689-1887.

The prominent feature in the plan of the series is the importance attached to the development of the Constitution. Thus, the First Volume deals with Feudal Monarchy (Supremacy of the Crown), the Second with the struggle against Absolute Monarchy (The Crown versus the Parliament), the Third with Limited Monarchy (Supremacy of the Parliament).

The same principle is worked out in detail in each volume. At the close of each reign there is a summary of the Constitutional Changes effected in the course of it, with an indication of its general tendency from a Constitutional point of view; while in important reigns the leading Statutes are analysed. A very full Summary of Constitutional Points is given at the close of each volume.

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# periods of English Bistory.

# GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1689-1887 A.D.

### LIMITED MONARCHY.

# REIGN OF WILLIAM III. (ORANGE) AND MARY IL (STUART). 1689-1694.

#### CHAPTER I.—CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

1. Nature of the Revolution.—On February 13, 1689, the Declaration of Right was formally accepted by William<sup>1</sup> and Mary, who were thereupon proclaimed King and Queen. This change of Sovereigns is called by historians the Revolutionsometimes the Bloodless Revolution—but it was not a revolution in the ordinary sense. It did not overturn the Constitution. or change the form of government, as was done by the great French Revolution a hundred years later. It did not even change the dynasty, as the accession of Henry IV. and of Edward IV. had done; for William was the nephew and Mary was the daughter of the deposed King. It had this, however, in common with these dynastic changes, that it established once more the right of Parliament to choose the Sovereign, and vindicated the supremacy of Parliament even over the Crown.

<sup>1</sup> William III., son of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and of Mary Stu-Reigned 13 years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mary II., daughter of James II. and of Anne Hyde. Born 1662. Married art, daughter of Charles I. Born 1650. William of Orange, as in preceding note. Married, 1677, Mary Stuart. No issue. Reigned 5 years. (See Genealogical Tree, page 25.)

It was, therefore, a revolution in the sense of being a return to the point at which the Stuart Kings, with their theories of "divine right" and "passive obedience," had departed from the strict lines of the Constitution. It established peacefully and permanently what the Civil War had accomplished temporarily and with much bloodshed—that the Sovereign derives his or her authority from Parliament, as the representative of the State; and that the authority so given may in like manner be withdrawn. In settling these points, the Revolution did not put anything new into the Constitution: it cast out and declared to be illegal certain theories and practices which had been thrust into it. The Declaration of Right was not a new statute: it was of the nature of a Declaratory Act.

- 2. Ministerial Responsibility.—This settlement of the relations between the King and the Parliament involved a corresponding view of ministerial responsibility. For four centuries at least, it had been the theory of the Constitution that ministers were responsible to Parliament. That was implied in the efforts of successive Parliaments to remove unpopular or unfaithful ministers—in the impeachment, for example, of Lords Latimer and Neville in 1376, of Lord Middlesex in 1624, of Buckingham in 1626, of Strafford in 1640 and Laud in 1641, and of Danby in 1674. These proceedings, however, had always been resisted by the Sovereigns, who had been accustomed to choose their own ministers without consulting Parliament, and had frequently retained them in spite of Parliament. Now that the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown had been recognized, the recognition of the supremacy of Parliament over the ministers of the Crown followed logically and necessarily. That view was not at once acted on. For many years after the Revolution, the Sovereign continued to choose his or her ministers individually, and not as a body, and also to dismiss them individually. There was as yet no Ministry or Cabinet composed of men belonging to the same party in the State, although the germ of that body appeared, as we shall see, during William's reign.
  - 3. William's Ministers: 1689.—William, however, did not

at once recognize the principle of ministerial responsibility, for he chose his first ministers partly from the Whigs and partly from the Tories. The Earl of Nottingham, a Tory who had opposed William's accession, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, a Whig who had supported it, were made Secretaries of State. The Tory Danby, who had been the friend and the tool of Charles II., was made President of the Council. The Whig Halifax, to whom, however, James II. owed his crown, became Lord Privy Seal. The Treasury and the Great Seal were put into Commission—that is to say, each of them was intrusted to a committee or board: and each of the boards included both Whigs and Tories. Charles Mordaunt, a Whig, who had accompanied William from the Hague, was made First Lord of the Treasury and Earl of Monmouth; but Lord Godolphin, a Tory, sat on the same Commission. There was probably a measure of wisdom in the impartiality of these appointments. It might have been dangerous for William to give offence to either party before his throne was firmly established. On the same ground. leniency was shown to his enemies. There was one man, however, whose crimes were too black for pardon. Jeffreys lav in the Tower, to which he had been borne amid the execrations of the mob. He had been found in a Wapping ale-house disguised as a common sailor. A few days after his arrest he died.

4. Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy: 1689.—As it was thought dangerous, in the excited state of the public mind, to embroil the country in a general election, the Convention was declared to be a Parliament on the same day on which William and Mary accepted the throne. One of the first things done by Parliament was to prepare a new coronation oath, the chief points in which were that it bound the sovereign to rule according to the statutes agreed on in Parliament, and to maintain "the Protestant reformed religion established by law." New oaths of allegiance and supremacy were also framed, from which the declaration of 1662 against opposing in arms the King's person or his officers was omitted. Archbishop Sancroft and seven other bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to William (hence called Non-jurors), and were sus-

pended from office and deprived of their revenues, though they were allowed to retain their palaces for a time. In 1691, they again refused the oath, and were dismissed. John Tillotson succeeded Sancroft in the primacy. The example of the non-juring bishops was followed by four hundred of the clergy, who were consequently deprived of their livings.

- 5. The Mutiny Act: 1689.—In March, several Scottish regiments which were in England were ordered abroad. Holding themselves to be at the disposal of the Scottish Parliament alone, they declined to go, and one regiment mutinied. The mutiny was put down by William's Dutch troops; and by the King's special order the mutineers, officers and men tied together in groups, were ignominiously marched to London, and then were sent abroad to perish in the Continental wars. This outbreak led to the passing of the Mutiny Act, putting soldiers under martial law. As this Act requires to be renewed annually, there is here an indirect provision for Parliament being called together every year.
- 6. The Coronation: 1689.—The coronation of the King and Queen took place in Westminster Abbey on April 11. Archbishop Sancroft having been suspended, the ceremony was performed by Compton, Bishop of London, as his subordinate; while William's favourite, Gilbert Burnet, newly created Bishop of Salisbury, preached the sermon. William's popularity did not long survive the test of personal intercourse. His mind wore a veil of reserve in presence even of his most intimate friends. His manner was cold and repulsive. He preferred the quietness of Kensington to the pomp of St. James's, and he found in his delicate health too good an excuse for escaping as often as possible from the festivities of London. Apart from the questions that affected his possession of the throne, he took little interest in the internal politics of Great Britain; and he prized the British crown mainly because it would enable him to wield more potent influence in the affairs of Europe.
- 7. The Toleration Act: 1689.—In May the *Toleration Act* was passed, abolishing penalties for absence from the Established Church, but requiring all assemblies for religious worship

to be held with open doors. The stringent conditions of the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act were relaxed; but the relief was not extended to Romanists. Indeed, a Bill for the repeal of the Test Act was rejected by Parliament; and that Act, as well as the Corporation Act, remained in force till 1828.

- 8. The Bill of Rights: 1689.—Toward the end of the year, the Declaration of Right was confirmed and extended in statutory form in the Bill of Rights, which ranks with Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Habeas Corpus Act as one of the great charters of British freedom. This Act asserted more clearly than any earlier statute the authority of Parliament. It declared that Parliament had absolute power over the army and the navy, over the courts of law and the succession to the crown, and thus was supreme in the State. The suspending and dispensing powers used by the Stuart Kings were declared to be illegal, as was also the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. Freedom of election and freedom of speech were secured to Parliament. The succession to the crown was settled first on the children of William and Mary, then on those of her sister Anne, and, these failing, on the children of William by any other wife; but Romanists and those who married Romanists were excluded.
- 9. Faction in Parliament: 1689-90.—The Convention Parliament came to an end early in 1690. During the previous year, the faction fight between Whigs and Tories became keener. The Whigs, who were bent on taking vengeance on the supporters of the late King, introduced a Corporation Bill which would practically have annihilated the Tory party, but the Tories were strong enough to secure its rejection by a narrow majority. The Tories retaliated by introducing a Bill of Indemnity, which made no exemptions, and they in turn were defeated by a large majority. The Whigs then proposed to amend the Bill by attaching to it a Bill of Pains and Penalties. William, in disgust, threatened to return to Hol-

land. This brought about a truce between the belligerents, and the Bills were dropped; but William dissolved the Parliament, and prepared for his Irish campaign.

- 10. The New Parliament: 1690.—In the new Parliament the Tories had a decided majority. That did not turn out the ministers, as it would have done a few years later; but it led to some changes. Halifax resigned, and Danby (now Marquis of Caermarthen) became the leader of the Government. Tory though it was, the new Parliament disappointed William by granting him only one-third of the excise duties for life, and the remainder for four years. Tories as well as Whigs saw the necessity of compelling the King to have frequent recourse to Parliament. In the opinion of many, four years was too long a term to provide for, and by-and-by the present custom of voting the supplies annually was introduced. William, on his part, prevented the revival of the Indemnity controversy by granting a comprehensive Act of Grace, from which he excepted only the few surviving regicides and about thirty others.
- 11. Jacobite Plots: 1690-91.—William's preparations to leave England, whether for Ireland or for the Continent, were generally the occasion of renewed intrigues and plots against After his arrangements for an Irish campaign had been completed in 1690, his departure was delayed by the discovery of one of these plots, in which Viscount Preston, who had been James's Secretary of State, took the chief part, and in which the Earl of Clarendon (James's brother-in-law) and the Earl of Dartmouth, Admiral of the Fleet, were involved. frequently happened, the plot was revealed to the Government by one of the inferior conspirators. William sought to conciliate his enemies by clemency; but his policy had the opposite Preston began his intrigues again in December, and started for France to meet the Jacobite leaders. He was, however, arrested on board ship in the Thames, and the plot collapsed (1691). Preston was imprisoned for some time, but was eventually pardoned, in return, it was alleged, for information given to the Government (1695). Dartmouth was sent to the Tower in July, and died there in October.

# CHAPTER II.—THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND AND IN IRELAND.

- 1. The Scottish Convention: 1689.—Bloodlessly the great change had been accomplished in England. It was not so. however, either in Scotland or in Ireland. A Convention of the Scottish Estates met at Edinburgh in March 1689. Thev passed the Claim of Right, declaring that James VII. had forfeited the crown by his violations of the Constitution, that no Papist should ever rule over Scotland, and that frequent Parliaments were necessary. William and Mary were accepted as King and Queen of Scotland; and Commissioners, of whom Argyle was one, were sent to London to administer to them the coronation oath. William appointed as Secretary of State for Scotland Viscount Melville (Robert Dundas), a man of fair abilities, with a reputation for honesty quite singular at that time. His chief adviser in all Scottish affairs was the famous William Carstares, a Presbyterian clergyman, afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Sir James Dalrymple was made President of the Court of Session and Viscount Stair; while his son Sir John Dalrymple (the Master of Stair) became Lord Advocate. The Stairs, both of whom were unscrupulous and cruel, in a short time made themselves supreme in Scotland, and drove Melville from power.
- 2. Rabbling the Curates: 1689.—The cause of the Stuarts was not allowed to expire in Scotland without a struggle. Many Scots were loyal to the fallen house, and the Duke of Gordon still held Edinburgh Castle for James. The common people in the south-west showed their hatred of Episcopacy by "rabbling" the curates—that is, by driving them out of their houses and parishes with insult. About two hundred parish priests, with their families, were thus treated. On the whole, however, the Scottish people showed forbearance to those oppressors whom the turn of events threw into their power.
- 3. Viscount Dundee.—When William arrived at St. James's, Viscount Dundee (John Graham of Claverhouse) had been one

of the crowd that thronged to give him welcome. He had declared himself willing to acquiesce in the new order of things, and received an assurance of protection. He went to Edinburgh, and attended the Convention of Estates for a few days. But he imagined that he was in danger of being murdered, and no arguments of his friends could induce him to remain in He fled, accompanied by fifty or sixty horsemen, Edinburgh. troopers who had deserted to him from his own regiment.1 June, Edinburgh Castle surrendered; and then Dundee and his troopers became the sole hope and stay of the Jacobite party. Repairing to the Highlands, Claverhouse raised the standard of the dethroned King. Several chiefs joined him, and he had soon under his command six thousand men; but they dwindled down to less than half that number, marching off every night by forties and fifties, laden with spoil.

4. Battle of Killiecrankie: 1689.—The army of the Convention, under General Mackay, marched against the Jacobites. It consisted of three thousand foot and some companies of horse; but the men were nearly all raw recruits, and entire strangers to the Highland way of fighting. At the head of the wild and gloomy Pass of Killiecrankie, in Perthshire, Mackay found himself, on July 27, in front of the rebels, who occupied the hill on the north side of the valley above the pass. Highlanders in dense masses rushed down from the hill. Firing their guns once, they threw them away, and then with broadsword and target they rushed wildly on the enemy. Mackay's troops fired a volley which had little effect, and before they could screw on their bayonets the Highlanders were among A panic seized Mackay's raw levies, and they broke and fled. Claverhouse never knew that he had won the victory. He fell at the beginning of the action, pierced by a musket ball which entered beneath his right arm. After this battle the Highland army quickly dispersed, and William was master of the whole of Scotland. Episcopacy was abolished, and the Presbyterian Church was restored and established by law (June 1690).

<sup>(898) 1</sup> See Sir Walter Scott's song, "The Bonnets o' Bonnie Dundee."

- 5. The Situation in Ireland: 1689.—The conflict in Ireland was more prolonged; for there James himself, surrounded by the Celtic Irish, who looked on him as a hero, made his last struggle for the crown. Louis XIV. of France encouraged the expedition; and Tyrconnel, still Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, raised an army for James. Lord Mountjoy, leader of the Irish Protestants, was enticed to Paris and shut up in the Bastille.
- 6. The Relief of Londonderry: 1689.—James landed at Kinsale, and entered Dublin in triumph (March 24, 1689). His first great operation was the siege of Londonderry,2 the stronghold of the Ulster Protestants. The citizens, greatly encouraged by the Rev. George Walker, whose monument still rises from the walls, endured the worst miseries of famine for more than three months; but at last three ships from England broke the boom of fir-wood laid across the River Foyle, and carried food to the starving garrison. The Irish army, thus baffled, retreated without delay (July 30, 1689). On the same day, Wolseley defeated the Irish at Newtown-Butler.
- 7. Battle of the Boyne: 1690.—William then sent Marshal Schomberg to Ireland with 16,000 troops. He himself landed at Carrickfergus3 in the following June, and found an army of 40,000 men ready to support his cause. The last day of June brought William to the northern bank of the Boyne, a few miles above Drogheda,4 with 36,000 troops. Riding by the stream, he was fired at by an impatient artilleryman in the opposite army; and the second shot, rebounding from the riverbank, grazed his right shoulder. It was thought among the troops of James that he was dead; but he was uninjured, and he spent the day in maturing his plans.

The battle began next morning (July 1) by the army of William commencing to ford the stream at three different points. The right wing, under Schomberg's son, crossed at Slane, in the face of some opposition from the Irish left.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kinsale, 15 miles south of Cork. <sup>2</sup> Londonderry, in the north of Ireland, on | miles north-east of Belfast.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Carrickfergus, on Belfast Lough; 6

the Foyle. Read Macaulay's description. | 4 Drogheda, 31 miles north of Dublin.

Old Bridge the King led his veteran Dutch Guards into the river, and in mid-stream they were subjected to a terrific fire from the Irish guns. But the Blues, soon emerging from their



deep wading, coolly mustered in the face of this great cannonade: and then they dashed on the Irish intrenchments and swept them clean. cavalry of James behaved well. One body attacked the Blues, whom, however, they could not shake. Another repulsed the third division of forders, formed mainly of Danes and Huguenots; and it was in the effort to recover this check that Schomberg met his death, receiving a bullet in the neck. James had already fled for Dublin:

thence he hurried to Kinsale, and thence to France.

8. Reduction of Ireland: 1691.—The war in Ireland continued for another year. After his victory at the Boyne, William marched to Dublin, and then took Waterford, but was obliged to abandon the siege of Limerick. When he left Ireland in September, the chief command devolved on the Earl of Marlborough, who captured Cork and Kinsale; and then he, too, returned to England. About the same time Tyrconnel retired to France, leaving the command of the Irish to the Duke of Berwick (King James's natural son) and General Sarsfield, by far the ablest of the Irish generals. The final reduction of Ireland was effected by General Ginkell. In June (1691) he captured Athlone. In July he defeated and slew St. Ruth, the French general, at Aghrim, and took Galway. In August he besieged Limerick, where the fragments of James's army made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Aghrim, 25 miles east of Galway.

their last stand. The siege, after lasting for five or six weeks, ended in a capitulation (October 3). On Thomond Bridge, over the Shannon, is still to be seen the stone on which was signed the Pacification of Limerick, the treaty that made William unquestioned King of Ireland. One million acres were confiscated to the Crown, and their possessors were driven into exile. Thousands of Irishmen crossed to France, and many of them entered the service of Louis, forming the famous "Irish Brigade." Thenceforth William held the crown securely. Ginkell was made Earl of Athlone.

9. Macdonald of Glencoe: 1691.—The Scottish Highlands were still in a restless state. The Government adopted the plan of buying over the chieftains, and for that purpose sent a sum of money, variously stated at £12,000 and £16,000, to the Earl of Breadalbane (John Campbell), whose doubtful loyalty was not supposed to disqualify him for the post of mediator. In truth, however, Breadalbane was distrusted by the chiefs, and many of them were unwilling to make their submission through him. When the Government found that some of the most powerful of them held back their allegiance, they resolved on a different line of policy, at the instigation, it is believed, of the Master of Stair, who had now superseded Melville as Secretary of State. A Royal Proclamation was issued decreeing that any chieftain who failed to take the oath of allegiance to William before the last day of the year 1691 should incur the penalties of treason and military execution. That brought in all the laggards except one-MacIan Macdonald of Glencoe, a personal foe of Breadalbane. His motive seems to have been. not so much enmity to William, as a quarrel with Breadalbane about the division of the money. Even he, however, repented of his obstinacy. In the last week of December he hastened to Fort William, 1 but found that the governor had no authority to receive his oath, and that he must go to the Sheriff of Argyle at Inveraray.<sup>2</sup> A toilsome journey over snowy hills and across swollen floods threw him a day or two late; but he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fort William, at the foot of Ben 2 Inveraray, the county town of Argyle-Nevis; 15 miles north of Glencoe.

permitted to take the oath, and went home well pleased, and, as he thought, safe.

10. The Massacre: 1692.—In a few weeks Captain Campbell of Glenlyon 1—a relative of Breadalbane, and a connection of



the Macdonalds by marriagewith a troop of soldiers, entered Glencoe, a gloomy glen of Argyleshire, in which lay the little settlement of the Macdonalds. They were met with a Highland welcome, and a fortnight went merrily by. The unsuspecting Macdonalds left nothing undone to please and entertain their guests. Hunting and feasting filled the days and the nights until February 13, when the soldiers rose suddenly before the winter dawn and began the work of blood. The chief, his wife, and thirty-six besides, were

butchered; the rest fled half naked to the snowy hills, where many died. In all, one hundred and twenty perished; but two of the chieftain's sons and one hundred and fifty others escaped. The beams of the rising sun fell on a mass of smoking ruins.

11. The Blame.—The blame of this foul deed rests chiefly with Secretary Stair and his coadjutors, the Earl of Breadalbane and the Duke of Argyle. Stair concealed from William the fact that Macdonald had taken the oath, and it was he who obtained from the King the order, signed both at the beginning and at the end, "to extirpate that set of thieves." Stair himself wrote to the commander-in-chief in Scotland that he hoped "the soldiers would not trouble the Government with prisoners," adding, "better not meddle with them than not do it to purpose." The only excuse made for William is that he signed

<sup>1</sup> Glenlyon, a valley in Perthshire, between Loch Tay and Loch Rannoch.

the order without knowing the circumstances. This excuse would have deserved more weight if William had not allowed the perpetrators of the atrocity to go unpunished after a Parliamentary inquiry had brought all the circumstances to light. The whole business certainly caused great prejudice to the government and reputation of William. The Jacobites trumpeted the massacre of Glencoe all over Europe in order to blacken his character. Weary with the violent strifes of Scottish factions, and perplexed by the contradictory reports which they poured in upon him, William was provoked to wish "that Scotland were a thousand miles distant from England, and that he had never been its King."

## CHAPTER III.—THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

1. War Declared: 1689.—The assistance openly given to James by Louis of France would have made war with that country inevitable, even if William had not already been at the head of the League of Augsburg, formed in 1686 to check the ambition of the French King. That league, formed at first by Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, had now been joined by Austria and the Empire; while France's only ally was Turkey. Great Britain formally declared war against France in May 1689; but William's hands were then full with his Irish war, and in the meantime the fighting was confined to the sea. On June 30, 1690—the day before the Battle of the Boyne—the British and Dutch fleets, commanded by the Earl of Torrington, were defeated by the French under Admiral Tourville off Beachy Head, and were forced to seek shelter in the Thames. London was seized with panic, as a French invasion was daily expected; but the French contented themselves with burning Teignmouth. Torrington incurred the wrath of William, especially as he had placed the Dutch ships in the van, and they had suffered most severely. The earl was afterwards tried by court-martial, and was acquitted; but William dismissed him from the service.

- 2. Changes in the Ministry: 1690.—About the same time, further changes in the Ministry took place. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Whig Secretary of State, was discovered to have been intriguing with the Jacobites, and was dismissed. Disappointment was the beginning of his fall. He had quarrelled with Nottingham, the Tory Secretary, and he was no match for the superior influence and adroitness of Caermarthen. He was succeeded by Viscount Sidney.¹ Lord Godolphin had some months previously retired from the Treasury Commission, in which he held a subordinate place. He now returned to it as First Lord by William's desire, although Caermarthen strongly opposed the appointment. The days of the homogeneous Ministry had not yet arrived.
- 3. Foreign Policy: 1691-92.—William's success in Ireland was not only a great disappointment to James; it also gave a serious check to the schemes of Louis. It was less in James's interest than in his own that the French King strove to replace him on the British throne. William was the head of a powerful European coalition directed against France, and his position as King of Great' Britain added enormously both to his influence and to his resources. If William had been driven out of Ireland, a counter-revolution would probably have followed in England, where James had still many secret friends, even among those in high places, who were playing the part of "hedging politicians." The fall of Limerick put an end to these hopes in the meantime. It also set William free to pursue his own line of foreign policy. He had twice visited the Continent in 1691. In January he had attended at the Hague a conference of the allies, at which it was resolved to raise an army of 222,000 men against Louis. In May he went abroad again, and spent five months in an unimportant campaign, in which he was assisted by Marlborough. afterwards suspicion fell on the loyalty of that astute soldier and politician, and he was suddenly dismissed from all his offices (January 1692).

<sup>1</sup> Viscount Sidney, a brother of Algernon Sidney; afterwards Earl of Romney.

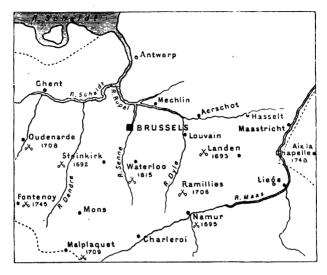
- 4. La Hogue: 1692.—Louis, on his part, being well aware of the existence of Jacobite plots in Great Britain, resolved on a great invasion of that country. James heralded his proposed return by the issue of a declaration of indemnity, to which he attached, very foolishly, several hundreds of exceptions. Queen Mary, in the absence of William on the Continent, turned this blunder to good account. She authorized the ministers to distribute the declaration, with comments, all over the country, and thus produced an impression adverse to James. Louis had in the meantime assembled at Brest a great fleet for the invasion of England. The British fleet kept watch in the Channel; but Mary knew, as well as Louis, that its leading officers were deeply tainted with disloyalty. The Queen acted with spirit and wisdom. She wrote a letter to Admiral Russell (himself one of the suspected traitors) in which she assured him of her unbounded confidence in the patriotism of her sailors. and she instructed him to read it to the captains of the fleet. The effect was electric. Even Russell's heart was won; and when the hostile fleets met off La Hogue, the French ships were scattered in all directions under the eyes of Louis and James, who watched them from the shore, and the projected invasion had to be abandoned.
- 5. Events of the War: 1692-97.—William now devoted all his energies to his struggle with France. Every summer saw him on the Continent, in spite of his delicate health, engaged in hostilities with Louis. Though he could not humble that proud monarch, he kept him in constant check-a matter of the utmost importance to all Europe. The chief battles of this Continental war were Steenkirke<sup>1</sup> (1692), Landen<sup>2</sup> or Neerwinden (1693) in both of which William gained honour, though defeated in both—and the great siege of Namur<sup>3</sup> (1695), which ended in the capitulation of the French. The British and Dutch merchant fleet on its way to Smyrna was almost completely destroyed

a few miles west of Waterloo. (See the | west of Landen. Map on next page.)

north-west of Liege. Neerwinden, where miles south-east of Brussels.

<sup>1</sup> Steenkirke, between Brussels and Mons, | the battle was fought, is 2 miles north-

<sup>3</sup> Namur, a strong fortress at the junc-<sup>2</sup> Landen, a town of Belgium, 23 miles tion of the Sambre and the Meuse; 67



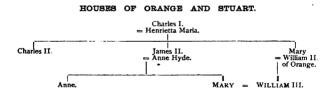
by Admiral Tourville off Cape St. Vincent (1693). In 1694, a great naval expedition, fitted out at Portsmouth, attacked Brest; but, through the treachery of Marlborough, the French were forewarned, and of 900 men landed, 800 were slain, including General Talmash, the commander. The Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, brought the war to a close. Louis gave up most of his conquests, and acknowledged William as King of Great Britain and Ireland.

6. The National Debt: 1693.—Out of these expensive wars sprang the National Debt, which has since swelled to a sum so enormous. In 1692, a large sum of money was raised by a poll-tax. That, however, was not sufficient, and as it would have been dangerous to increase the burden of taxation, Charles Montague, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, suggested the plan of raising money by means of a loan, which would spread the burden over several generations. The plan adopted was that of life annuities, by means of which one million

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ryswick, 2 miles south-east of the Peace of Ryswick (December 2), St. Paul's Hague. On Thanksgiving-day for the Cathedral in London was first opened.

sterling was raised. The Parliament was not unwilling to furnish William with money for his Continental wars, because there was a tacit understanding that, in return, he should give up to the Commons the chief share in the domestic government.

- 7. The Bank of England: 1694.—One of the schemes devised to meet the extraordinary expense of these foreign wars led to the establishment of the Bank of England. A body of merchants agreed to lend the Government £1,200,000 at 8 per cent., in return for certain trading privileges. The scheme originated with a Scotsman named William Paterson. It was violently opposed in Parliament, but it was defended by Montague, and was ultimately carried. The charter was granted, 27th July 1694.
- 8. Triennial Parliaments: 1694.—In the same year was passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, which made the House of Commons more directly dependent on the country, and thus lessened the influence of the Crown. That was well understood by William, who had refused his assent to a similar Bill in 1693. It was again introduced towards the end of that year, but was negatived in the Commons. William at last agreed to the measure, in order to conciliate the Commons and obtain supplies. In the last week of 1694, Queen Mary died of small-pox, and thenceforth William ruled alone.



# REIGN OF WILLIAM III. (ORANGE).

#### CHAPTER IV.—DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

- 1. The Freedom of the Press: 1695.—The death of Mary was followed by the reconciliation of William with his sisterin-law, the Princess Anne, from whom he had been estranged for some years. The reconciliation was brought about by Marlborough, who, though distrusted by William, had great influence with Anne-an influence strengthened by the friendship of the Princess with the Countess of Marlborough. of the most important achievements of the session of 1695 was the Abolition of the Censorship of the Press. The Licensing Act of 1662 had been renewed periodically till 1679. been revived in 1685, and continued with renewals for other The time had come when it must be re-enacted or must lapse. The proposal to renew it was negatived by the House of Commons. This established, in theory at least, the Freedom of the Press, and very soon the number of newspapers increased; but the press for many years afterwards suffered vexatious restrictions from the operation of the law of Libel and of the Stamp Duty—the latter of which survived till 1855, An attempt was made in the House of Commons in 1697 to revive the licensing of the press; but the Bill was rejected on the second reading.
- 2. Rampant Corruption: 1695.—A new charter had been granted to the old East India Company in 1693. It became known that the charter had been obtained by the practice of bribery on a tremendous scale, and the House of Commons

appointed a committee to inquire into the matter. The committee reported that the governor and the deputy-governor had distributed in bribes no less a sum than £87,402, of which £10,000 was said to have gone to the King and £5,500 to Caermarthen (now Duke of Leeds). When the Commons proposed to impeach the governor (Sir William Cooke), Leeds defended him, whereupon the Commons charged Leeds himself with corruption, and his impeachment was prevented only by the flight of the principal witness against him and by the prorogation of Parliament. He retained office for other two years, but his influence was gone. Corruption was at that time rampant among placemen and members of Parliament. At the beginning of the session of 1695, the Speaker of the House of Commons (Sir John Trevor) confessed that he had accepted a bribe of 1,000 guineas from the City of London to advance a certain Bill, and he was expelled from the House.

- 3. The Treason Act: 1696.—In the following year, a most important change was made in the procedure in cases of trial for treason. The Act passed on that subject was the result of a Parliamentary struggle which had extended over five years, during which three Bills had been introduced and dropped. The new Act ordained that the accused should be provided with a copy of the indictment and a list of the jurors before the trial, and should have counsel learned in the law assigned to them, together with process to compel the attendance of witnesses. The trial was to commence within three years of the alleged treason, and two witnesses were to be necessary to conviction. This Act is the foundation of the existing law of treason, but it has been frequently amended.
- 4. The Assassination Plot: 1696.—Before the Treason Act came into force, a new and serious plot against the life of William was discovered. Connected with it, there was a design to overthrow the Government by means of a French invasion led by the Duke of Berwick. The former was really an Assassination Plot, and it is generally called by that name. The aim of the latter was political only; but, as in the case of the Main and the Bye Plot (1603), and also of the Rye House

Plot (1683), many persons who were privy only to the political scheme were charged with the major offence. There was great public excitement in connection with these schemes. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. A loyal association was formed to protect William, or to avenge his death, and an Act was passed requiring all officers, both civil and military, to join it. Many arrests were made, and eight of the chief conspirators were executed. Sir John Fenwick was not arrested till June. that time the Treason Act was in operation, and as only one witness against him could be found (a second one had disappeared), no trial could take place. This was a disappointment to the King, and it was awkward for the ministers. against several of whom Fenwick had insinuated in his confession charges of disloyalty which were well known to be true. Among those implicated were Godolphin, the head of the Treasury; Shrewsbury, whom William had restored to favour and office in 1694, and had rewarded with a dukedom: and Russell, who was Admiral of the Fleet. Shrewsbury retired to the Continent. Godolphin was forced by his colleagues to resign. They then proceeded against Fenwick by bill of attainder, which was carried in both Houses by small majorities, and he was executed in January 1697.

5. The Whig Junto: 1697.—As long ago as in 1693, the Earl of Sunderland, who had once been the leading minister of James II., had advised William to get rid of the Tories, and to select his ministers from the Whig party only. William was the more disposed to follow that course because he owed his crown to the Whigs, and because the Whigs were the supporters of his war policy. The change, however, had to be effected gradually. Sir John Somers, a Whig, was at once appointed Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Leeds (Danby) was forced to resign in 1695. The new Parliament returned towards the end of that year was strongly Whig. When Godolphin, the last Tory, resigned in 1697, the Ministry became

Abroad.—In 1697-98, Peter the Great of Russia visited Holland and England, and worked in Deptford dockyard.

- wholly Whig. As reconstituted, with Charles Montague as head of the Treasury and virtual Prime Minister, it became known as "the Whig Junto." Russell, First Lord of the Admiralty, was created Earl of Orford. The Earl of Wharton, who had contributed largely to the Whig triumph, was made Chief Justice in Eyre. The concluding of the Treaty of Ryswick about this time further strengthened the position of the Ministry.
- 6. First United Ministry: 1697.—The Whig Junto was the first united or homogeneous Ministry, and to it is generally ascribed the origin of the Cabinet in the sense now familiar. It must not be supposed, however, that the plan of appointing ministers in a body was definitely adopted at this time. The ministers were still selected by the Sovereign; and in 1700 William reverted to the plan of mixed ministries. Queen Anne followed the same course during the early years of her reign; but before the close of it, the principle of making the Ministry representative of and responsible to a majority of the House of Commons was fully recognized. (See page 53.)
- 7. State of Ireland: 1695-98.—Ever since the Pacification of Limerick, the Protestant minority in Ireland had treated the native Irish as a conquered people. The Irish Parliament of 1695 and the three following years passed the most stringent penal laws against Roman Catholics. For example, Romanist schoolmasters were forbidden to teach the children of more than one family. All Romanists were ordered to be disarmed. A poll-tax was imposed on Romanists, from which Protestants were exempted. In 1697, Romanist ecclesiastics were ordered to leave Ireland; Protestants and Romanists were forbidden to intermarry; persons who, having opposed the Government in arms, had left Ireland, were forbidden to return to it without a

Abroad.—In 1698, Peter the Great of Russia banished the Strelitzes, having first caused them to be decimated in the Great Square of Moscow. The Strelitzes were a noble body-guard founded by Ivan the Terrible. Like the Janissaries in Turkey and the Mamelukes in Egypt, they became turbulent and dangerous. Their continued disloyalty led to their final extermination in 1705.

license; the benefits of the articles of the surrender of Limerick were limited to those who had been actually in arms against William. Measures were taken in the following year to reduce the Irish to poverty and misery by the extinction of the woollen manufacture—measures to which England consented for the sake of her own manufactures and her own capitalists. No Irish Romanist could serve in the army, or sit in Parliament, or act as a juryman, or lease land.

8. The Darien Scheme: 1695-99.—William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, was the originator of a Scottish Company empowered to trade to the West Indies and Africa. The scheme was sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament in 1695. The capital was £900,000. Of this sum £400,000 was subscribed in Scotland, then a poor country. Merchants of London and Amsterdam took shares for the remainder. The Isthmus of Darien was selected as a central position for commerce both with India and with America, and a colony was founded there in 1698.

The East India Company looked on the scheme as an infringement of their rights. Certain Dutch merchants also believed that it would injure their interests. These parties combined to oppose the expedition; and so persistent were they, that they induced the King to set his face against it. The colony was ruined and all the money lost (1699). The settlers, badly supported by their countrymen, sank into want. Disease carried them off by scores. The neighbouring British colonies, either through jealousy or acting under orders from home, refused to lend any assistance. And, to crown all, the Spaniards, claiming the soil on which their town, New Edinburgh, was built, harassed them with ceaseless attacks. Very few of the unhappy colonists ever saw Scotland again.

9. Causes and Effects of the Failure.—There is no doubt

Abroad.—In 1699, the Peace of Carlowitz (on the Danube) dismembered the Turkish Empire, giving parts to Austria, Russia, Poland, and Venice. Peter the Great had formed an alliance with Austria against Turkey in 1695. Peter took Azov, at the mouth of the Don, in 1696, and thus gained access to the Black Sea.

that the failure of this promising scheme was due to the jealousy of the English and Dutch trading companies, which induced William to withhold from the Scottish colony the privileges he had promised. To the jealousy of the English merchants, also, the Scots ascribed their exclusion from the East Indian trade. The feeling of animosity thus excited between the two nations was so keen that it threatened to plunge them into war. William, who was wise and far-seeing, was convinced that nothing could prevent the severance of the two countries but a complete legislative union, and he commended that to Parliament in 1699.

- 10. Reduction of the Army: 1698-99.—The Treaty of Ryswick left Great Britain burdened with a standing army of 80,000 men. William wished that army to be maintained, as he did not trust Louis; but both Whigs and Tories agreed that it was extravagant as well as dangerous to give the King the control of such an army in time of peace; and the public opinion of the country agreed with them. In December 1697, the Commons voted the disbanding of the army. A month later it was reduced to 10,000 men, and before the end of 1698 to 7,000. A further Act for disbanding the army was passed in February 1699. William sent a message to the Commons setting forth his desire to retain his Dutch Guards; but the Commons refused, advising the King to "trust to his people." William was so angry that he had thoughts of abdicating.
- 11. The Irish Forfeitures: 1699.—Another cause of difference with the Parliament arose in connection with the estates forfeited by the Irish Jacobites. William had distributed some of the most valuable in large portions among his foreign favourites. The Parliament passed an Act ordering the estates to be sold for the public benefit; but they allowed the grantees to retain the rents and other revenues they had drawn from them. The Lords disapproved of the Act; but the Commons circumvented them by incorporating the Bill with the Bill granting supplies, and as the House of Lords cannot alter a Money Bill, they had either to reject or to accept the whole;

and William advised them to accept it. That showed the growing power of the Commons.

12. Ministerial Changes: 1699-1700.—Both the reduction of the army and the reversal of the Irish grants weakened the Ministry. Many Whigs joined the Tories in voting against ministers, and they were frequently left in a minority. 1699, Montague resigned the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and Orford (Russell) withdrew from the Admiralty. In the following year, William was forced to part with Lord Chancellor Somers, the most sagacious of his advisers. He had allowed himself to be mixed up with the doings of William Kidd, a naval officer who had been sent to the East Indies to put down piracy, but had himself turned pirate. Somers, along with others, had given money to Kidd, and it was alleged that he expected to derive profit from the expedition. He was also attacked by the Commons in connection with the distribution of Irish estates, and William was forced, very unwillingly, to ask him to resign the Chancellorship (April 1700). That was another proof of the influence of the House of Commons. In December, William, reverting to the old plan of appointing ministers, added to the Cabinet two leading Tories, the Earl of Rochester and Lord Godolphin. In a new Parliament which met in February 1701 the Tories had a majority.

#### CHAPTER V.—THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

1. First Partition Treaty: 1699.—While William's position at home was in this critical state, he was called on to take part in the dispute over the succession to the Spanish crown. The King, Charles II., was childless, and was believed to be dying. There were three claimants for the throne: (1) Louis the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. of France; (2) Joseph Ferdinand, son of the Elector of Bavaria; and (3) the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold. William's main desire was to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns. He therefore proposed a partition of the Spanish dominions,

by which the crown of Spain would be given to the Bavarian Prince, while the Dauphin and the Archduke were to be bribed into acquiescence by receiving portions of Spanish territory. A secret treaty to this effect was signed by William and Louis in October 1698. Early in 1699, Ferdinand of Bavaria died, and the treaty became useless.

2. Second Partition Treaty: 1700.—William and Louis made a second partition treaty in the spring of 1700, by which the Archduke Charles was to have Ferdinand's portion, with the crown of Spain, and the Dauphin was to receive the remainder. Charles of Spain was indignant when he heard how his dominions were being disposed of, and, in William's despite, he made a will bequeathing his crown and all his possessions to Philip of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin. As this arrangement would prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns, William thought it prudent to acquiesce in it in the meantime. His unpopularity at home made his position very unpleasant. He had quarrelled with the Commons over the reduction of the army and the distribution of the Irish forfeitures, and he was in bad odour with the Scots on account of the Darien

Abroad.—In 1700, Charles XII. of Sweden, with 20,000 men, defeated 60,000 Russians at Narva (ninety-five miles south-west of St. Petersburg). The war originated in a coalition of Denmark, Saxony, Poland, and Russia against Sweden.

#### THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. Philip III. Philip IV. Anne Louis XIII. Maria Anne Ferdinand III.. of France. Emperor. Louis XIV. Leopold (r) Margaret Theresa; = (2) Princess of Maria Theresa Margaret Theresa Charles eopold I ouis XIV. Neuburg. of France Emperor. A daughter Elector of Louis the Archduke: CHARLES III. Dauphiu. Bavaria. Louis, Duke of Burgundy. Philip, Duke of Anjou: Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince (Died 1699) Louis XV. of France (898) 3

Scheme. He was therefore powerless to adopt any other policy. Charles II. died in October, and in terms of his will the Duke of Anjou became Philip V. of Spain.

- 3. Beginning of War: 1701.—The Emperor Leopold prepared to vindicate the claims of his son, the Archduke Charles. He based these claims on the ground that both Anne, the wife of Louis XIII., and Maria Theresa, the wife of Louis XIV., had renounced their right to the Spanish crown on their respective marriages, while his (Leopold's) mother Maria had not done so. He took up arms against the French in Italy, and the War of the Spanish Succession began. The Dutch also entered into the struggle, and claimed British aid. aspect of affairs in England had changed. The Tories had returned to power. Rochester and Godolphin had a majority. in the House of Commons. Lord Somers, the Earl of Portland (Bentinck), the Earl of Orford, and Montague (now Baron Halifax), were impeached for their share in the partition treaties, which were condemned as having endangered Protest. At this juncture the men of Kent took the unprecedented course of petitioning the Commons, advising them to give up quarrelling and to vote the King the supplies he needed. Some of the petitioners were imprisoned, but the custom of petitioning was established; and as quarrels ensued between the Lords and the Commons as to the time of Somers's trial, the impeachments were abandoned, and the Parliament was dissolved.
- 4. The Act of Settlement: 1701.—This disturbed Parliament had passed one great measure—the Act of Settlement, rendered necessary by the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, only surviving son of the Princess Anne (July 1700). The Act ordained that, after Anne, the succession should pass to the Princess Sophia¹ of Hanover, and her heirs, being Protestants of the Church of England. The same Act provided that judges should be appointed for life, but that they might be removed on an address of both Houses. An import-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sophia. She was granddaughter of who married the Elector Palatine. (See James I., being daughter of Elizabeth, Genealogical Tree, page 58.)

ant safeguard to public justice was furnished in the provision that no pardon under the Great Seal should har an impeachment by the House of Commons. Two of the provisions of this Act have since been repealed—the one in 1706, which prohibited persons in the pay of the Crown from sitting in the House of Commons; the other in 1717, which prevented the Sovereign from leaving Great Britain or Ireland without the consent of Parliament.

- 5. The Grand Alliance: 1701.—William had acquiesced in the settlement of the Spanish throne without approving of it. What was really a triumph for Louis, his lifelong rival, could not but be unsatisfactory to him. The Emperor was already in the field. William determined to join him, and in June sent Marlborough to Holland with 10,000 soldiers. In September he concluded with Germany and Holland a treaty known as the Grand Alliance, and bent all his energies in preparation for a gigantic struggle. A few days after the treaty was signed, James II. died at St. Germains. Louis immediately and publicly recognized his son as King of Great No step could better have served the purposes of Britain. William. It excited violent indignation in England, and set the war-spirit of the people fairly on fire. The new Parliament met in December. It contained a majority of Whigs, and at once passed a Bill for attainting James's son-henceforth known as the Pretender. All persons holding office in Church or in State were required to disown his title on oath. The Commons then voted the King 40,000 soldiers, and a large increase in the number of sailors. As the Tories were opposed to the war, William was forced again to turn to the Whigs, and made the Earl of Manchester<sup>1</sup> Secretary of State.
- 6. Death of William: 1702.—In the very midst of his preparations, and when his hopes were at the highest, William

Abroad.—In 1701, Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, was made King of Prussia, in return for supporting the Emperor in the matter of the Spanish Succession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Earl of Manchester, Charles Montague, must not be confounded with Charles Montague, Lord Halifax.

was suddenly cut off. Riding from Kensington<sup>1</sup> to Hampton Court on February 21, 1702, he fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone. The injury was not such as would of itself have caused death, but, acting on a frame naturally feeble and worn-out by long-continued asthma, it brought on a fever, of which he died at Kensington on the 8th of March. He was in his fifty-second year. He and Mary left no children.

- 7. Character of William III.—The death of William did not cause any feeling of deep sorrow in the nation. He had never made any effort to secure the goodwill and favour of the British people, and he succeeded beyond most kings in making himself personally unpopular. That was due chiefly to the cold reserve of his manners, and to the indifference, not to sav contempt, he showed toward the English people. He prized the British crown chiefly because it increased his influence in European politics. On that ground he was wise enough to conciliate the Parliament by making concessions which, in other circumstances, he might have withheld. For the same reason he was willing to respect the constitutional liberties which had cost Englishmen so much, and which men of all parties had learned to prize. He was an able and far-seeing statesman, and was possessed of a clear intellect, moral courage. a strong will, and indomitable patience. He was also a brave soldier, and a skilful though not a very fortunate general. valued human life cheaply, and often sacrificed it needlessly in his battles and sieges. Probably the same feeling led him to think little of the massacre of Glencoe.
- 8. The Constitution.—The limitations of the monarchy, for which the Civil War had been fought, were firmly established in the Bill of Rights (1689), which put in the form of a statute the terms and conditions on which William accepted the crown, as expressed in the Declaration of Right. The annual Mutiny Act, on which the statutory existence of the army depends, also furnished the country with a security that Parliament would meet once at least every year. The Parliaments were con-

<sup>1</sup> Kensington, then a western suburb of London, now included in it.

tinuous during William's reign. The sessions were held with great regularity—generally from November till April or May. Sometimes a short session was held in summer, but the summer recess of six months was seldom curtailed. Though Parliament came into collision with the King on several occasions, it succeeded in maintaining its independence. He twice refused his assent to the Triennial Bill, but at last he was compelled to give way (1694). He also refused his assent to a Bill, which had passed both Houses, for excluding placemen from Parliament (1693), and in the following session it was negatived in Placemen were excluded by the Act of Settlethe Commons. ment (1701), but the provision was repealed in 1706. In 1700, Parliament was adjourned, and was afterwards dissolved, in order to prevent the presentation of an address to the Crown for the removal of foreign councillors. They were, however, excluded by the Act of Settlement in the following year. the same occasion. Lord Chancellor Somers was furiously attacked in the Commons in connection with the Kidd case (see page 32), and though the motion was not carried, William was obliged to dismiss Somers. In the following year, the impeachment of Somers and the other Whig ministers led to a sharp quarrel between the two Houses. When the trial broke down, and Somers and Orford were declared to have been acquitted, the Commons were prepared to pass a remonstrance; but William prevented this by dissolving the Parliament (June 24, 1701).

An important point settled in connection with the charges against the Whig ministers was the right of the people to petition Parliament. The five men who presented the Kentish petition (see page 34) to the House of Commons were imprisoned till the close of the Parliament; but the right of petitioning was not afterwards questioned.

The two great political parties—Whigs and Tories—became clearly defined in William's reign. They corresponded with the Country party and the Court party of the two previous reigns. Both parties, however, now disowned the theory of the divine right of kings. The Whigs were supported by the

wealthy middle class in towns, by the great landowners, and by the Dissenters; the Tories by the country gentry and the country clergy.

It was still the custom of the King to appoint his ministers individually, and to select them from both the Whigs and the Tories. The Whig Junto of 1697 consisted wholly of men of one party, and is usually considered the first homogeneous ministry; but that was merely an experiment of William's, and in 1700 he fell back on the old plan of composite ministries, by recalling Godolphin and Rochester to office. The principle had not yet been conceived of making the existence of a ministry as a whole depend on its having the support of a majority of the House of Commons. On the other hand, William's dismissal of Somers in 1700, and of Godolphin in 1702, showed that he recognized the impropriety of retaining in office an individual minister of whom the House of Commons disapproved.

In addition to the Bill of Rights, several important Acts bearing on the Constitution were passed during the reign. The most important of these was the Act of Settlement, or the Succession Act, of 1701. Its leading purpose was to establish the Protestant succession to the throne, but advantage was taken of the opportunity to supplement on several points the Bill of Rights. The most important of these was the provision that judges should receive fixed salaries, and should not be removable except on conviction for some offence, or on the address of both Houses of Parliament. Another important measure was the Act on Trials for Treasons (1696), the leading provisions of which (see page 27) tended to secure justice and to obviate hardship.

William was one of the first men to recognize the necessity of an incorporating union of England and Scotland. He recommended it to the House of Lords in 1689, and he expressed strongly his desire for it on his deathbed.

#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- 1689. War declared against France-Battle of Killiecrankie-Relief of Londonderry-Bill of Rights passed
- 1690. Defeat of Torrington off Beachy Head-Battle of the Boyne.
- 1691. Capitulation of Limerick.
- 1692. Massacre of Glencoe-Russell's victory off La Hogue.
- 1693. Reginning of the National Debt.
- 1694. The Bank of England established The 1702. Death of William.
- Triennial Act passed—Death of Queen Mary. 1695. Surrender of Namur to William
- 1697. The Whig Junto-Pirst United Ministry-The Treaty of Ryswick signed.
- 1699. First Spanish Partition Treaty
- 1700. Second Spanish Partition Treaty.
- 1701. The Act of Settlement, or Succession Act. passed-Impeachment of the Whig lords-The Kentish petition-Death of James II.

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

- Duke of Berwick (James Fitz-James), son of James II. and Arabella Churchill; served in Ireland, 1689: in France, 1693.
- Marquis of Caermarthen (Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby), a leading Tory; virtual Prime Minister, 1690; made Duke of Leeds; impeached for bribery, and resigned, 1695.
- Earl of Clarendon (Henry Hyde), took part in Jacobite plots, 1690-91; confined in the Tower for six months.
- Henry Compton, Bishop of London, crowned William and Mary, 1689.
- Viscount Dundee (John Graham of Claverhouse), Jacobite leader in Scotland; killed at Killiecrankie, 1689.
- General Ginkell, defeated the Irish and French at Aghrim, 1691; Earl of Athlone, 1692.
- Earl of Godolphin (Sydney), a Tory; a Treasury Commissioner, 1689; resigned, 1690; recalled as First Lord, 1690; intrigued with the Jacobites; driven from office by the Whigs, 1697; recalled, 1700; dismissed, 1702.
- Marquis of Halifax (George Savile), a Whig: Lord Privy Seal, 1689, joined the Opposition and resigned, 1690; died, 1695.
- Earl of Manchester (Charles Montague), Secretary of State, 1701.
- Earl of Marlborough (John Churchill), great general; deserted James II. and joined William, 1688; Commander in Ireland, 1690; dismissed on suspicion of treason, 1692; betraved Talmash's expedition, 1694; implicated in Fenwick's plot, 1696; sent to Holland as Commander-in-Chief, 1701.
- Viscount Melville (Robert Dundas), Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689.
- Earl of Monmouth (Charles Mordaunt), a Whig; accompanied William from the Hague, 1688; Pirst Lord of the Treasury, 1689; quarrelled with Godolphin and retired, 1690; succeeded his uncle as Earl of Peterborough, 1697.
- Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1695: First Lord of the Treasury in Whig Junto, 1697-99; impeached and acquitted, 1701; afterwards Earl of Halifax.
- Earl of Nottingham (Daniel Finch), leader of the Tories, who supported William, 1688; Secretary of State, 1689; quarrel with Admiral Russell, 1692: resignation, 1694.

- William Paterson, Scottish financier: founder of the Bank of England, 1694; took part in Darien Expedition, 1698.
- Duke of Portland (William Bentinck), favourite of William; at the Boyne, 1690; negotiated Treaty of Ryswick, 1697; impeached and acquitted, 1701.
- Admiral Russell, defeated French fleet off La Hogue, 1692; Earl of Orford, 1697; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1694-99; impeached and acquitted, 1701.
- Archbishop Sancroft, refused to take the oath of allegiance, suspended, 1689; head of the Non-jurors; again refused, and deprived of his see, 1691; died, 1693.
- General Sarsfield (Patrick), Jacobite general in Ireland, 1689; at the Boyne, 1690; defeated William at Limerick; negotiated its surrender, 1691; killed at Landen, 1693.
- Duke of Schomberg (Frederick Herman), Marshal of France; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. 1689; killed at the Boyne, 1690.
- Earl of Shrewsbury (Charles Talbot), a Whig; signed the invitation to William, 1688; Secretary of State, 1689; intrigued with James II.; dismissed, 1690; implicated in the Assassination Plot, and left England, 1696.
- Sir John Somers, promoted the Revolution, 1688; Attorney-General, 1692; Lord Chancellor, 1693; created Baron, 1697; dismissed, 1700.
- Viscount Stair (Sir James Dalrymple), President of the Court of Session, 1689; author of "Institutes of the Law of Scotland."
- Master of Stair (Sir John Dalrymple), son of the above, Lord Advocate, 1689; Secretary of State, 1692.
- James Francis Edward Stuart (the Old Pretender), born, 1688; styled "James III."
- Earl of Torrington (Arthur Herbert), Admiral of William's fleet, 1688; defeated the French in Bantry Bay, 1689; defeated by Tourville off Beachy Head, 1690; tried by court-martial and acquitted, but dismissed, 1690.
- Duke of Tyrconnel (Richard Talbot), Jacobite leader in Ireland, 1689; died, 1691.
- Rev. George Walker, leader of the citizens during the siege of Londonderry, 1689; made Bishop of Derry; killed at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

# REIGN OF ANNE (STUART).

### CHAPTER VI.—MARLBOROUGH'S TRIUMPHS.

- 1. Accession of Anne<sup>1</sup>: 1702.—William's death made no change in the foreign policy of Great Britain, William's place at the head of the Grand Alliance being taken by the Earl of Marlborough, whom Queen Anne appointed Captain-General of all her forces. Marlborough's influence with the Queen was unbounded. His wife had for years been Anne's bosom-friend. In their familiar intercourse ceremony and titles were laid aside: the Queen was "Mrs. Morley;" the Countess was "Mrs. Freeman." Anne, being a devoted friend of the Church of England, chose her ministers from the Tory party, and made Marlborough's friend, Lord Godolphin, First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, and the Earl of Nottingham Secretary of State.
- 2. War Declared: 1702.—War was formally declared in May. Its chief theatres were Spain and the Low Countries, which have been well named "the battle-fields of modern Europe." In Spain, an expedition commanded by Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormond failed in an attack on Cadiz in August; but in October it captured and partly destroyed a fleet of treasure-ships in Vigo Bay, and carried off four million dollars. In Flanders, Marlborough took Liège and Bonn, and got command of the Meuse and the Rhine, thus barring the way

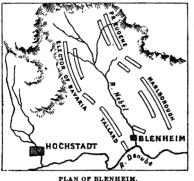
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anne, second daughter of James II. died in 1708.) Issue, four daughters and and Anne Hyde. Born 1665. Married two sons, all of whom died before she came Prince George of Denmark in 1683. (He to the throne. Reigned 12 years.

against a French invasion. On his return to England, he received the thanks of the House of Commons, and the Queen made him a duke.

- 3. Position of Portugal: 1703.—In the following year, the King of Portugal joined the allies, and so gave them ready access to the heart of Spain. His alliance was confirmed by the Methuen Treaty, under which Great Britain granted to Portugal important commercial privileges. The Emperor proclaimed his second son King of Spain, with the title of Charles III. Toward the end of the year a terrific storm swept over the British Isles, and did enormous damage. Twelve ships of the Royal Navy were lost, with 1,500 men; and the first Eddystone lighthouse was blown into the sea, and Henry Winstanley, its designer, was among those who perished in its ruins (November 26, 27).
- 4. Battle of Blenheim: 1704.—Early in 1704, Marlborough complained that he was hampered by the Tories in the Ministry, who were half-hearted in supporting the war. He insisted on the dismissal of Nottingham, and the addition to the Ministry of Robert Harley and Henry St. John, who, though Tories, were his friends. In this year, he gained the first of those brilliant victories which entitle him to rank among the greatest soldiers of the world. The Emperor Leopold was in an extremely critical position at Vienna. The French and the Bavarians on the west, and the Hungarians on the east, were gradually closing in on him. His numbers were much inferior to theirs, and his capital was in real danger. Marlborough then formed a bold design for his relief. ing less than to march his whole army from Flanders across the Rhine and into the heart of Bavaria, so as to strike in between Vienna and the French and Bavarian army. Würtemberg he was joined by Prince Eugene; and on August 2nd they encountered the enemy, commanded by Marshal

Abroad.—In 1702, Augustus the Strong (Elector of Saxony), King of Poland, was dethroned by Charles XII. of Sweden. Stanislaus Lesczinski was chosen in his stead in 1704. But Augustus was restored after a civil commotion. These changes weakened Poland, and hastened its fall.

Tallard and the Electoral Prince, at Blenheim, on the north bank of the Danube, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat.



on them a crushing deteat. Marshal Tallard, the French general, who commanded the right wing, made the fatal mistake of concentrating his force in the village of Blenheim. This weakened his centre, and enabled Marlborough, who led the left, to break up the enemy's force into two bodies. When the British carried the village, in the face of a desperate resist-

ance, there was nothing left to Tallard and his whole division but to surrender. Then, but not till then, the Bavarians gave way before Prince Eugene, who led on the right. This victory drove the French out of Germany. Marlborough received a gift of the royal manor of Woodstock in Oxfordshire, on which was built Blenheim House.

5. The War in Spain: 1704-5.—The same year witnessed one of the most important achievements of the war—the capture of Gibraltar by Admiral Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Aided by a body of Hessian troops, the British, landing on the isthmus which joins the Rock to the mainland, carried the works by storm in spite of a heavy fire. The Spaniards and the French made the first of many attempts to retake the place in October; but Sir John Leake raised the siege in the following March. Gibraltar has never since passed from British hands. In the south of Spain, the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel besieged and captured Barcelona, an exploit which established the authority of Charles III. in Catalonia and Valencia. Charles was brought one step nearer the imperial crown this year by the accession of his brother, Joseph I., on the death of their father, Leopold.

<sup>-</sup> Blenheim, a village of West Bavaria (Germany); 28 miles north-west of Augsburg.

- 6. Ramillies: 1706.—In 1706, Marlborough gained the second of the four great victories which have given glory to his name as a soldier. He defeated the French under Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, in South Brabant, and drove them out of the Netherlands. Indeed, the tide of fortune had now turned against the French in all quarters. They were driven out of Italy by Prince Eugene, who defeated them in front of Turin, and then followed them into France. A British fleet took Majorca and Iviça. The Earl of Galway and the allies marched from Portugal to Madrid and occupied it; but the advance of the Duke of Berwick with reinforcements obliged them to withdraw. About this time Louis made overtures for peace, but the allies doubted his sincerity.
- 7. Almanza: 1707 Oudenarde: 1708. At home public attention was diverted from the war by the negotiations for the parliamentary union of England and Scotland, referred to in the next chapter. Further changes in the Ministry strengthened the hands of Marlborough in the prosecution of his war policy. When the war was resumed, the Duke of Berwick, at the head of the French, defeated the Earl of Galway at Almanza, and thereby virtually secured Spain for Philip V. (1708). Part of the British fleet, returning from Gibraltar, struck on some rocks off the Scilly Isles. Four ships were lost, and Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel was among the drowned. A projected invasion of Scotland by the Pretender came to nothing. He was attacked with measles, and the French fleet was consequently delayed. When it at last sailed to the Firth of Forth, it was put to flight by Admiral Byng, and returned to France. In the Netherlands the Dutch lost ground, chiefly owing to their injudicious treatment of the inhabitants.

Abroad.—In 1707, Charles XII. of Sweden invaded Russia. He was defeated at Poltava (Pultowa), in the south of Russia, in 1709, and took refuge for some time in Turkey. Returning suddenly to his kingdom, he engaged in war with Norway, and was killed at the siege of Frederickshald, a maritime fortress on the Skager Rack, in 1718.

In 1707, on the death of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul (1658-1707), the Mogul Empire in India fell into decay, the tributary princes gradually asserting their independence.

French saw their opportunity, and Marshal Vendôme captured Bruges and Ghent. Marlborough came to the help of his allies and gained a splendid victory over Marshal Vendôme at Oudenarde in East Flanders (1708). The French lost 15,000 men and more than a hundred banners on this field. The victors then crossed the French frontier and took Lille. Toward the end of the year Minorca was captured by General Stanhope. By this time the Ministry had become thoroughly Whig. Harley and St. John had left it, and Robert Walpole had joined it as Secretary at War. (See page 53.)

- 8. Malplaquet: 1709.—The exhausted state of France forced Louis to reopen negotiations for peace early in 1709. He was willing to agree to most of the conditions; but when he found that he would be required to send an army to drive his grandson (Philip V.) out of Spain, he broke up the conference, saving that if he must use his armies he would rather do so against his enemies than against his own children. He sent another army into the Netherlands under Marshal Villars. borough and Prince Eugene collected their forces at Lille, on French ground. They captured Tournay in June, and, still marching eastward, intercepted Villars at Malplaquet, a few miles south of Mons, in September. The battle was long and fiercely contested, and the victory, though complete, was disastrous to the victors, for while the French lost 12,000 men, the allies lost twice that number. This was the last great event of the war. Conferences for peace were again begun in 1710; but after having lasted for three months, they were broken off without any result. Marlborough, who did not wish peace, continued his aggressive policy, and captured in the course of the year Douay, Venant, and other French frontier . towns. In Spain, General Stanhope defeated the French and Spaniards at Almenara and Saragossa.
- 9. Fall of Marlborough: 1711.—The public at home evidently thought that the war had lasted long enough. The Whig Ministry, discredited by its action in the case of Dr. Sacheverell (see page 53), was driven from office in August 1710, and the Tories, led by Harley and St. John, came into power. In

the new Parliament, which met in November, the Tories had a majority. In the Queen's Speech no reference was made to Marlborough's victories. A motion to award him the thanks of Parliament for his brilliant services was defeated. The sun of the great general was evidently setting amid clouds. Nevertheless Marlborough started as usual for the Continent in the spring to open the campaign. Villars, having fallen back from Douay, had busied himself with the construction of lines of defence at Arleux, which he boasted would prove the ne plus ultra of the British advance. By sheer generalship Marlborough forced the lines without the loss of a man, and then captured Bouchain.

This was his last triumph. His enemies resolved not only to upset his policy, but also to ruin his personal reputation. In his absence the ministers opened private negotiations for peace, to which Louis gladly assented. Marlborough returned to England in October to find himself utterly discredited. When Parliament met in December he boldly defended himself in the House of Lords, where he could still command a majority. He was, nevertheless, accused of appropriating public money in the shape of commissions on army contracts and on foreign subsidies, and was dismissed from all his employments. On similar charges, Walpole, who had been Secretary at War, and Cardonel, who had been Marlborough's secretary, were expelled from the House of Commons. Marlborough' remained in England, chiefly at Blenheim, for a year, and then he went abroad, where he remained till after the Queen's death.

10. Death of the Emperor Joseph: 1711.—Towards the end of the year an event occurred which strengthened the peace party in Great Britain. The Emperor Joseph died, and was

Abroad.—In 1711, St. Petersburg became the capital of Russia. Moscow had been the capital up till that time. Peter the Great acquired Livonia from Sweden during his wars with Charles XII., and thus obtained a seaboard on the Baltic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Mariborough. On his return to England, in-chief; but he held it for only one year. in 1714, he was coldly received at Court, but was restored to his post of commander-but was restored to his post of commander-but with the died in 1722, and was buried in West-but was restored to his post of commander-but with the died in 1722, and was buried in West-but was restored to his post of commander-but with the died in 1722, and was buried in West-but was restored to his post of commander-but was restored to his post of commander-but

succeeded by his brother the Archduke Charles, whom the allies called Charles III. of Spain. This changed the whole position of affairs. In the eyes of the British people and the British Government the union of Spain and Austria under one sovereign was even more objectionable than the union of Spain and France in one family. That formed a strong reason for bringing the war to an end as speedily as possible, and the negotiations for peace were pressed forward. A show of carrying on the war had to be made as a means of enforcing the British demands. The Duke of Ormond (James Butler) was appointed commander-in-chief in room of Marlborough, and took the field in May 1712; but he effected nothing of importance, and in July he separated from Prince Eugene and the allies, the cessation of hostilities having been proclaimed.

11. Treaty of Utrecht: 1713.—Treaties of peace were signed at Utrecht in March 1713 by the representatives of France, Great Britain, Holland, and the other allies. In as far as it affected Great Britain, the Treaty of Utrecht did not secure advantages commensurate either with the successes of Marlborough in the field, or with the enormous expenditure the war had entailed on Its most remarkable feature was that under it the country. Great Britain abandoned the cause for which the war had been undertaken—the exclusion of the Bourbons from Spain. was, however, provided, that the French and the Spanish crown should never be united. Louis recognized the Protestant succession in Great Britain, and agreed to expel the Pretender from France. Great Britain retained Gibraltar, Minorca (taken in 1708), the Hudson Bay Territory, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. Dunkirk was to be dismantled. Hostilities continued for some months between France and the Empire, in the course of which France recovered Douay, Bouchain, and other frontier towns which Marlborough had taken. At length the Emperor made a separate treaty with France at Rastadt in 1714.

### CHAPTER VII.—THE SCOTTISH UNION.

- 1. Conflict of Whigs and Tories.—During the reign of Queen Anne the strife between Whigs and Tories raged more fiercely than ever around two great questions—the War and the Church. The Whigs supported the war; the Tories sought for peace. The Whigs were Low Church; the Tories were known as the High Church party. The strength of the Tories lay in the House of Commons; that of the Whigs in the House of Lords. There was thus mixed up with the party warfare a struggle for supremacy between the two Houses of Parliament.
- 2. Conflict of Lords and Commons.—The Houses came into collision, before the end of 1702, in connection with a measure called the Occasional Conformity Bill, which was brought into Parliament by the Tories, and was cordially approved by the Queen and the High Church clergy. The Bill was levelled against those who attended places of worship not of the Established Church, after they had taken the Test Oath and had received public appointments. The proposal was that these Occasional Conformists (who were mostly Whigs) should suffer dismissal and heavy fine. Marlborough supported the Bill in the hope of conciliating the Tories. It passed the Commons, but was lost in the Lords. The Bill was reintroduced in 1703 and in 1704, and met on each occasion with the same fate. Another quarrel arose in 1703 in connection with a plot for a Jacobite invasion of Scotland which Lord Lovat alleged that he had discovered. The Whig Lords took up the case, and indirectly censured the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, for suppressing certain facts. The Tories in the Commons declared that it was their business and not that of the Lords to investigate such matters, and the consequence of the quarrel was that no one was convicted. Still more bitter was the conflict that arose over the Aylesbury election. The votes of certain burgesses having been refused by the returning officers, the House of Lords on appeal confirmed a verdict declaring the refusal illegal. The Commons resented this as an infringement

of their rights, holding that they alone could deal with elections to their House. It is noteworthy that on this occasion the Tories were the champions of the constitutional rights of the House of Commons. There were angry conferences between the Houses, and the conflict became so bitter that the Queen thought it wise to put an end to it by a prorogation of Parliament.

- 3. Growing Influence of the Whigs.—It was at this time that those changes on the Ministry began to be made which ultimately transformed it from a mixed into a Whig administra-This was chiefly the result of Marlborough's influence, who, though himself a Tory at heart, complained that the Tories hindered the vigorous prosecution of the war, and therefore drifted toward the Whigs. The Earl of Rochester, the head of the High Church Tories, had been got rid of in 1703. He had never approved of the inclusion of Whigs in Queen Anne's first administration, and had accepted the post of Vicerov in Ireland. Nevertheless he appeared in the House of Lords and denounced the war policy of the ministers, and when he was ordered to return to his post in Ireland he sent in his resignation. The Earl of Nottingham was the next to go. In 1704 he demanded the expulsion of the Whigs, and when that was refused he resigned. By Marlborough's advice Robert Harley and Henry St. John, moderate Tories who supported his war policy, were added to the Ministry. In 1705, Lord Cowper, a Whig, became Lord Chancellor. In the new Parliament returned in that year the Whigs had a majority. and in 1706 the Earl of Sunderland, a Whig, was made a Secretary of State. As Godolphin, like Marlborough, was now practically a Whig, the only Tories left in the Ministry were Harley and St. John.
- 4. Literature and Politics.—It is worth remembering that Sunderland had as his under-secretary, Joseph Addison, afterwards the great English essayist. The connection of literature with politics was a sign of the times. Daniel Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," was one of the most powerful controversial writers of the day. He began his career as a writer of political

pamphlets in the reign of William, and he continued it during the reigns of Anne and George I. The political pamphlet served the same purpose in that age as the leading article in a newspaper, or an article in a magazine or a quarterly review, serves now. Sometimes they were written in verse. Addison. who had Somers and Montague as his friends and patrons, wrote a poetical "Address to King William," in 1695. At the request of Godolphin and Halifax he celebrated Marlborough's victory at Blenheim in his poem "The Campaign," which was intended to popularize the war policy of the Government. That service was rewarded with political offices. He held the appointment of under-secretary for two years, in the latter of which he was elected a member of Parliament. In 1699 he went to Ireland as secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant. Two other literary men who went into the service of politics were Richard Steele and Jonathan Swift. Unfortunately such men often degraded literature by selling their services to a political party or a particular minister. Swift wrote for the Whigs in the hope of being made a bishop. When they disappointed him, he went over to the Tories; but they only made him Dean of St. Patrick's. Steele was rewarded with a commissionership in the Stamp Office. He afterwards entered Parliament, but he was expelled from the House of Commons in 1713 for having written a pamphlet in which he cast doubts on the Protestantism of the Government.

5. The State of Ireland: 1702-5.—In Ireland the Government of Anne followed the repressive and intolerant policy which William had introduced. Romanist dignitaries and priests, both regular and secular, were expelled from the country, and priests educated abroad were forbidden to enter it. It was treason to impeach the Protestant succession. Catholics were prevented from purchasing, inheriting, or bequeathing lands. The Catholic clergy were required to be registered on pain of banishment. It was illegal for a Catholic to serve on the grand jury. From the extinction of the Irish woollen trade Protestants as well as Romanists suffered. The Irish Parliament took up the cause of the Protestants, and addressed the Government of Anne, urging a complete union with England as

the only remedy for their wrongs; but the English ministers rejected these overtures, and the Queen returned an evasive reply.

- 6. The Scottish Union Question: 1702-5.—A question of great importance now arose—the necessity of uniting the Parliaments of England and Scotland. This had been a favourite project of the Whigs ever since the Revolution. William had strongly approved it, and had recommended it on his deathbed; and it had been referred to in Queen Anne's first speech from the throne. Soon afterwards, commissioners from the two countries met to discuss terms and conditions; but they were unable to agree (1702). Subsequent events convinced the English Government of the necessity of a union being speedily effected, if the two countries were not to drift into war. Scottish Parliament was still smarting under the disasters at Darien. A bill in favour of the Hanoverian succession had been introduced in the Scottish Parliament in 1704; but it had been rejected with scorn. An Act of Security was then passed, providing that, if Anne died childless, the Scottish Estates should choose a successor of the royal line and the Protestant religion; but that the same Sovereign should not rule over Scotland and England, unless the independence of Scotland and the commercial equality of the two countries were secured. Shortly afterwards the English Parliament placed restrictions on Scottish trade: reprisals took place. On suspicion of having robbed a certain Scottish ship which was missing, the crew of an English ship driven into the Firth of Forth were tried, and Captain Green, the mate, and a gunner were hanged. ill feeling between the two countries grew stronger than ever, and it became evident to all parties that an incorporating union was essential to the maintenance of peace.
- 7. A Joint-Commission Appointed: 1706.—In April 1706, a Joint-Commission, consisting of thirty-one members from each country, and having Daniel Defoe as its secretary, met at Westminster to draw up Articles of Union. They completed their work in July. In October the last Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh to discuss the Articles. The Duke of Queensberry,

the chief promoter of the Union, was the Royal Commissioner. The leader of the opposition was the Duke of Hamilton, whose royal blood was perhaps excited by hopes of the crown. The Union was undoubtedly disliked by the majority of the Scottish people. During the sitting of the Parliament, there was great excitement in Edinburgh and all over the country. All work and business were at a standstill. Eager and anxious crowds thronged the neighbourhood of the Parliament House. Strong bodies of troops were in readiness to put down rioting if the peace should be broken.

- 8. The Union Ratified: 1707.—The Scottish Parliament was about equally divided on the subject; but English gold freely distributed secured majorities sufficient to carry the measure. The Treaty of Union was ratified by the Scottish Parliament on January 16th, 1707. It received the Queen's assent on March 4th, and the Union took effect on May 1st. The chief terms of the Union were:—
- a. That the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and her heirs, if Protestants, should succeed to the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.
- b. That England and Scotland should be governed by one Parliament sitting in London, in which Scotland should be represented by sixteen elective Peers and forty-five members of the Commons.
- c. That all English ports and colonies should be opened to Scottish traders.
- d. That while the laws of public policy should be the same for both countries, those relating to property and private rights should be preserved unaltered, except for the good of the Scottish people.
- e. That the Court of Session and other Scottish tribunals should remain unchanged.
- f. That the Church of Scotland should be maintained, as by law established.
- 9. The "Equivalent Money:" 1707.—The first united Parliament of Great Britain, which met in London on October 23rd, 1707, passed several Acts for the purpose of making the

Union more complete. By one of these the Scottish Privy Council was dissolved; by another, the election of the sixteen Scottish Peers was regulated; by a third, provision was made for the payment of the "equivalent money"—a sum of £398,000 voted as compensation for the depreciation of the Scottish coinage, but generally regarded as a bribe. As the Scots refused to take the money in English paper, it was sent to Edinburgh in specie. According to the account of Defoe, who was then in Edinburgh, the waggons bearing it had to be guarded by dragoons to ward off the attacks of the mob, who looked on the gold as the price for which the independence of their country had been bartered.

10. Effects of the Union.—Though the measure was very unpopular at the time of its passing, there can be no doubt that both countries, and Scotland especially, have reaped from it very great benefits. From that event Scotland must date the great material prosperity which she now enjoys. The chief objections urged at first against the change were the loss of independence and the increased load of taxation; but these were only seeming evils. The commerce, the wealth, and the greatness of Scotland began to advance with rapid strides. Fishing villages became thriving sea-ports; Glasgow and Dundee sprang into great and populous cities.

## CHAPTER VIII.—SUPREMACY OF THE COMMONS.

1. The Whig Triumph: 1708.—The Whigs had retained their ascendency over the Queen chiefly by the aid of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. But the Queen became weary of a companion who tried to have the upper-hand in everything. Abigail Hill, a cousin of Harley, had been introduced into the palace as an attendant on the Queen's person. Through this woman, better known as Mrs. Masham, Harley succeeded in undermining the influence of the duchess with the Queen. At the same time he intrigued for the expulsion of the Whigs from the Ministry. In retaliation, the Whigs demanded

Harley's dismissal; and Marlborough, who was entirely dependent on the Whigs, had no choice but to force this step on the unwilling Queen. With Harley, St. John resigned. The Ministry was now entirely Whig; but the Tories were strengthened in the House of Commons by obtaining as vigorous leaders Harley and St. John, who united in denouncing Marlborough and the war. Robert Walpole took Harley's place in the Ministry, which was further strengthened by the addition of Lord Somers as President of the Council. This was a great triumph for the Whigs. In this year Prince George of Denmark, the Queen's husband, died, and was succeeded in the office of Lord High Admiral by the Earl of Pembroke.

- 2. Party Government—The Cabinet: 1708.—The Whig Ministry of 1708 has better claims to be considered the first Cabinet formed on strictly party lines than the "Whig Junto" of 1697. Though the members of the "Whig Junto" all belonged to the same party, they were selected individually by the Sovereign; and their retention of office did not depend on their having the support of a majority of the House of Commons. In 1708, that principle, which forms the foundation of responsible government, had been fully recognized. The appointment of Sunderland as Secretary of State in 1706 was, as we have seen, forced on Queen Anne against her will. The subsequent changes showed that the Ministry was independent of the Sovereign, and was practically chosen by the Parliament. the same time, it became the custom for the chief ministers forming the Cabinet to meet together in Council, distinct from the Privy Council. The Cabinet Council, it is well to remember, has no place in the written Constitution. It is a private and informal meeting of ministers, and no record is kept of its proceedings.
- 3. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell: 1709-10.—The Whig triumph was short-lived. Ere long, events occurred which stirred all England into a flame in favour of the Tories. Dr. Henry Sacheverell, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, had preached two sermons—one (August 15) at Derby, another (November 5) at St. Paul's before the Lord Mayor and Alder-

men of London-in which he denounced the Revolution as an unrighteous change, maintained the duty of punishing Dissenters, and called on the people to defend their Church, which was in imminent danger. The Commons voted the sermons to be scandalous and seditious libels. The Government, against the advice of Marlborough, resolved on the impeachment of the author: and the case came before the House of Lords. trial lasted three weeks (Feb. 27-March 23, 1710). All the clergy and the mass of the people were for Sacheverell. Queen attended the trial privately, to give him encouragement. Bishop Atterbury wrote his defence. Every day, as he drove to and from the court, his coach was followed by cheering mobs, whose feelings, not content with this display, found further vent in the destruction of Nonconformist churches, and in riots that filled the citizens with alarm. Sacheverell was found guilty, and forbidden to preach for three years. The sermons were burned by the hangman in front of the Royal Exchange.

4. Return of the Tories: 1710.—This very light punishment, inflicted by a Whig House of Lords, was regarded as an admission of defeat. Before the end of the year, Godolphin and Sunderland were dismissed (August), and Harley and St. John came into office. In the new Parliament, which met in November, the Tory Ministry had a decided majority. One of its first measures was an Act fixing the property qualification for members of the House of Commons at £300 a-year (1710). Marlborough was retained in his command, as the war was still going on; but his duchess was dismissed from her offices at Court, her place as companion to the Queen being taken by Mrs. Masham. About the same time an attempt was made on Harley's life by a French adventurer, bearing the title of Marquis de Guiscard, whose pension he had reduced. When brought before the Council for examination on a charge of holding treasonable correspondence with France, he stabbed Harley with a pocket-knife, the blade of which broke on his breast-bone. The assailant was severely wounded by St. John and other councillors, who drew their swords on him, and he died soon afterwards in Newgate. Harley's injury was slight, and the incident added greatly to his popularity. The Queen created him Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and he was soon advanced to the office of First Lord of the Treasury.

- 5. Creation of Twelve Peers: 1711.—When Marlborough returned from his last campaign on the Continent in 1711. two subjects were engaging the attention of Parliament—the Occasional Conformity Bill, and the proposed Treaty of Peace. Three times already had the Occasional Conformity Bill been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. (See page 47.) The Earl of Nottingham, though piqued against Oxford for having excluded him from office, was anxious that the Bill should pass. Marlborough was not a strong enough Whig to object seriously to that Bill, and he was extremely anxious that his war policy should be vindicated. A secret compact was therefore made, under which Marlborough and his friends voted for the Occasional Conformity Bill, while Nottingham and the disaffected Tories voted against the peace proposals of the Government. Oxford was equal to the occasion. He first charged Marlborough with peculation, and had him dismissed from all his employments. (See page 45.) He then induced the Queen to create twelve new Peers, and thus obtained a majority in the House of Lords.
- 6. The Commons Supreme: 1711.—This step marks an era in constitutional history. The Revolution had placed the Parliament above the King, but neither House of Parliament could claim to be above the other. Oxford's creation of Peers gave the supremacy once for all to the Lower House. Nothing that the Lords could do could alter the relation of parties in Oxford's device was a constitutional plan, the Commons. whereby the Ministry for the time being, which had the confidence of the majority of the Commons, could at once alter the relation of parties in the House of Lords. On subsequent occasions, it has been enough for the Ministry to threaten this measure, and the Lords have at once given way. Thus the ascendency of the Commons was established. Thenceforth the greatest ministers have been Commoners.
  - 7. Patronage in the Scottish Church: 1712.—An Act of

the Scottish Parliament had in 1690 given the right to appoint ministers to churches to the "heritors and elders" of each parish. That Act was rescinded in 1712 by the British Parliament, which restored to lay patrons "their ancient rights" of presenting ministers in Scotland. The Act caused much discontent in Scotland, and made the Government very unpopular there. Indeed, it was intended to have that effect, its chief pro-The Patronage question continued to moters being Jacobites. trouble the Church of Scotland 1 for more than a century, and led ultimately to its disruption in 1843. The Scottish Peers and members of Parliament professed to be so disappointed with the effects of the Union that they proposed seriously to have it repealed. A motion for that purpose was actually made in the House of Lords in 1713, and it was rejected by a majority of only four votes.

8. Quarrel of Oxford and Bolingbroke: 1714.—The Treaty of Utrecht, signed on the last day of March 1713, was a great triumph for the Tories; but the victory was transient. When the terms of the treaty became known in England, they caused intense disappointment. Oxford and St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) were, besides, known to be favourable to the accession of the Pretender on the death of Anne. In this project they were joined by the Duke of Ormond, a Jacobite, who had succeeded to Marlborough's command, and who was now made Warden of the Cinque Ports. These schemes, which could not be altogether concealed, brought discredit on the whole Tory party. After the death of the Princess Sophia, in 1714, when her son George-Louis became heir apparent, the Jacobites renewed their intrigues. They were not without hopes of success. Bolingbroke, who had long been Oxford's secret enemy, now drove him from office. The cause of their quarrel was the passing of the Schism Act, which made a bishop's license necessary before any one could open a public or a private school. Bolingbroke carried the Act through Parliament. Oxford disapproved of it, and resigned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Church of Scotland. In 1843, the anti-Parliament in 1874, and the election of Patronage party formed the Free Church. Lay Patronage was abolished by Act of cants and adherents in each congregation.

- 9. Death of the Queen: 1714.—Bolingbroke now expected to have his own way in everything; but before his plans were complete—even before he had chosen a successor to Oxford—the Queen was suddenly struck down with apoplexy (July 29). Bolingbroke and the Jacobites were taken by surprise. Anne was induced, by moderate men of both parties, to appoint as Lord Treasurer the Duke of Shrewsbury, a Tory, but a Hanoverian (July 31). She died the next day.
- 10. Character of Queen Anne.—Anne was not remarkable either for talent or for learning. She was possessed of good sense, and was simple and homely in her tastes and habits. The weak point in her character was the facility with which she submitted to the influence of favourites—first of the Marlboroughs, then of Harley and Mrs. Masham, and last of Bolingbroke. Her natural kindliness of heart gained for her the title of "the Good Queen Anne." Of her devotion to the Church of England she gave practical proof in her voluntary surrender of the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices (granted to the Crown in 1559), in order that they might be employed in augmenting small livings in the Church, under the scheme known as Queen Anne's Bounty. The loss of all her children saddened her life, and she died a mourning and childless widow.
- 11. The Constitution.—Several important constitutional points were settled in Queen Anne's reign. One of these was the system of government by party, controlled by the House of Commons. Queen Anne adhered as long as she could to the theory that it was her right to select her ministers from either party, or from both parties; and the Tories, led by Harley, encouraged her in that view; but they were finally beaten when Harley and St. John were driven out of office in 1708. Then the principle of government by a homogeneous Cabinet was fully established. That settled the supremacy of the Commons in matters of administration.

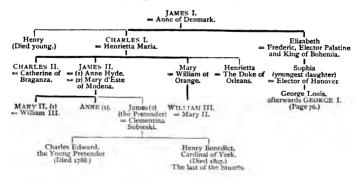
An Act passed in 1708 made it unlawful for holders of pensions from the Crown, or of offices created after October 25, 1705, to sit in Parliament. Holders of offices that had existed before 1705 were required to vacate their seats, but were

eligible for re-election. An Act passed in 1710 fixed the property qualification of members of the House of Commons at £300 a-year at least, from lands and heritages.

Another point settled in Queen Anne's reign was the supremacy of the Commons over the Lords. This was done in 1711 when Harley, in order to secure a majority in the House of Lords favourable to his foreign policy, induced the Queen to create twelve new peers. By using, or by threatening to use, this expedient, a powerful Ministry, supported by a majority of the Commons, can always control the Upper House.

The Act against Occasional Conformity (1711) excluded from Parliament those Dissenters who conformed to the Church of England in order to take their seats, and became Nonconformists again afterwards. It was a reactionary measure, contrary to the Toleration Act of 1689. The Schism Act (1714), requiring all schoolmasters to hold a bishop's license, was of the same nature. The Act of Union with Scotland made an important change on the Constitution, inasmuch as it incorporated the two Parliaments of England and Scotland in one, and thus established the British or Imperial Parliament. Anne was the last Sovereign who refused the royal assent to a Bill which had passed through Parliament. That was in 1707.

#### THE STUARTS AND THE HANOVERIANS.



#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- 1702. Declaration of war against Spain.
- 1704. Mariborough's victory at Blenheim-Capture of Gibraltar
- 1705. Peterborough's capture of Barcelona.
- 1706. Mariborough's victory at Ramillies.
- 1707. Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments.
- 1708. The Allies defeated by Berwick at Almanza-Placemen excluded from Parliament-The Ministry became Whig; first united Cabinet dependent on the Commons-Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde-Capture of Minorca.
- 1709. Mariborough's capture of Tournay-His

- victory at Malplaquet, and capture of Mons. 1710. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell-Fall of the Whig Ministry-Property qualification of members of the Commons settled.
- 1711. The dismissal of Marlborough-Act passed against Occasional Conformity-Harley's creation of twelve peers.
- 1712. Lay Patronage revived in the Scottish Church.
- 1713. The Treaty of Utrecht concluded.
- 1714. The Schism Act passed—Quarrel of Bolingbroke (St. John) and Oxford (Harley)-The latter dismissed-Shrewsbury made Lord Treasurer-Death of Queen Anne (Aug. 1).

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

- Duke of Berwick, defeated the Allies at Almanza, 1708: took Barcelona, 1714.
- Earl Cowper (William), a Whig; Lord Keeper, and a Commissioner of the Scottish Union, 1705; first Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, 1707; resigned, 1710,
- Prince Eugene of Savoy, imperial general; with Mariborough at Bienheim, 1704, and at Malplaquet, 1703; supported Marlborough in London, 1712; defeated by Villars, 1713.
- Lord Godolphin, Tory Lord Treasurer, 1702; became a Whig, 1708; dismissed, 1710; intrigued with St. Germains, 1711; died, 1712.
- Duke of Hamilton (James Douglas), opposed the Scottish Union, 1705 : Ambassador to France; promoted Treaty of Utrecht, 1711-12; killed in a duel, 1712.
- Robert Harley, a moderate Tory; Secretary of State, 1704; intrigued with Mrs. Masham against Marlborough; dismissed, 1708; Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, 1710: wounded by Guiscard, made Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, 1711; created twelve new peers, 1712; quarrel with Bolingbroke, and dismissal, 1714.
- Earl of Marlborough, made Commander-in-Chief; won Blenheim, 1704; made a duke; won Ramillies, 1706; Oudenarde, 1708; Malplaquet, 1709; declared himself a Whig, 1708; accused of peculation, and dismissed, 1711; went abroad, 1712.
- Earl of Nottingham (Daniel Finch), Tory Secretary of State, 1702; demanded expulsion of the Whige, and resigned, 1704; joined the Whigs, 1710: carried the Occasional Conformity Bill, and voted against the Peace, 1711; died, 1730.
- Duke of Ormond (James Butler), sent to Cadiz with Sir G. Rooke's troops, 1702; Vicerov in Ireland. 1703; appointed Marlborough's successor, 1711; to avoid impeachment, fied to France, 1714.
- Earl of Peterborough (Charles Mordaunt), sent to command in Spain; captured Barcelona, 1705; relieved Barcelona, 1706; diplomatic

- service in Italy, 1706; envoy to Vienna, 1711; Governor of Minorca, 1713.
- Duke of Queensberry (James Douglas), Scottish Secretary of State, 1702; Scottish Commissioner for the Treaty of Union, 1706; Secretary of State, 1709; died, 1711.
- Earl of Rochester (Lawrence Hyde), a Tory ; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1700; resigned, 1703; President of the Council, 1710; died, 1711.
- Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral; stormed Vigo, 1702; captured Gibraltar, 1704; withdrew from the service, 1705; died 1709.
- Dr. Henry Sacheverell, Tory divine; preached two sermons against the Revolution, 1709; tried, and suspended for three years, 1710; Rector of Holborn, 1713.
- Henry St. John, Secretary for War, 1704; resigned, 1708; Secretary of State, 1710; made Viscount Bolingbroke, 1712; quarrel with Oxford, 1714: failure of his plans.
- Sir Cloudesley Shovel, served under Rooke at Vigo and Gibraltar, 1702-4; at siege of Toulon, 1707; drowned off the Scilly Isles on his way home, 1707.
- Dake of Shrewsbury (Charles Talbot), Ambassador to France, 1712-13; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1713-14; Lord Treasurer, 1714; died, 1718.
- Lord Somers, Lord President of the Council, 1707; retired, 1710; died, 1716.
- Earl of Sunderland (Charles Spencer), son-in-law of Marlborough; envoy to Vienna, 1705; Whig Secretary of State, 1706; advised the trial of Sacheverell, and resigned, 1710.
- Marshal Tallard, French general: taken prisoner at Blenheim, 1704.
- Marshal Villars, French general; defeated at Malplaquet, 1709; victorious over Dutch and Austrians, 1713; signed Treaty of Utrecht.
- Marshal Villeroi, French general, defeated at Ramillies, 1706
- Robert Walpole, Whig Secretary at War, 1708: Treasurer of the Navy, 1710-11; expelled from House of Commons for corruption, 1711; imprisoned, January to July 1712.

## REIGN OF GEORGE I. (HANOVER). 1714-1727.

## CHAPTER IX.—THE 'FIFTEEN, AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

- 1. The New Dynasty: 1714.—The Hanoverian succession was effected in the quietest manner possible. The Elector was at once proclaimed King with the title of George I.¹ Till his arrival in England, which took place on September 18th, the Government was carried on by eighteen "Lords Justices," nominated by himself, and chosen chiefly from the Whig party. George's partiality for the Whigs, to whom he owed his crown, was soon evident. He dismissed the Tory ministers, with the exception of the Duke of Shrewsbury, whom he made Lord Chamberlain.
- 2. The Whig Ministry: 1714.—As George had some intention of being his own chief minister, he filled the chief posts in the Whig Ministry with second-rate men of that party. The Earl of Halifax (Charles Montague) was made First Lord of the Treasury; but the real head of the Government was Charles, Viscount Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, the other being General James Stanhope, the unsuccessful successor of Peterborough in Spain. Robert Walpole, Townshend's brother-in-law, was Paymaster of the Forces, and he soon raised himself by his talents in debate to be the leader of his party in the House of Commons. Marlborough was restored to the office

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George I., son of the Electress Sophia, and great-grandson of James I. Married Sophia-Dorothea of Zell, whom he kept for 13 years.

of Commander-in-Chief; but his power was gone, and in the following year an attack of paralysis made him unfit for service.

- 3. The Cabinet and the Prime Minister.—George was unable to carry out his intention of being his own minister by a difficulty he had not anticipated. He did not know English, and none of his ministers knew German. They had to communicate with one another in Latin that was by no means classical. The King was too old to learn English-he was fifty-four-and the ministers had no inclination to learn Ger-The consequence was that the King had to abandon the farce of presiding at a council of ministers where he could not understand a word of what was said. Two things followed from this. In the first place, the Ministry became independent of the Sovereign, and acquired greater influence. In the second place, it became necessary that the Ministry should have a head; and hence the leading member of the Cabinet came during this reign to be regarded as Prime Minister. The office of Prime Minister, or head of the Cabinet, resembles the Cabinet itself in not being recognized in the Constitution. The post is usually held in conjunction with one of the regular offices, as that of First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Secretary of State.
- 4. Impeachment of the Tory Ministers: 1715.—An Act had been passed in 1707 providing that the Parliament in existence at the time of Queen Anne's death should continue for six months thereafter. Accordingly, Anne's Parliament was not dissolved till the end of January 1715. In the new Parliament, which met in March, the Whigs had a large majority. When it met, a committee of the Commons, with Walpole as chairman, was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the late ministers with regard to the Treaty of Utrecht. Oxford, Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, 2 against all of whom there were strong suspicions of a secret correspondence with the Pretender, were impeached for high treason. Bolingbroke 3

<sup>8</sup> Bolingbroke became the Pretender's chief | Parliament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Halifax, Prime Minister.
<sup>2</sup> Ormond, James Butler, Duke of (1665– he was allowed to return to England in 1723; but he was not permitted to enter

and Ormond fled to the Continent, where they joined the councils of the Pretender. Oxford was sent to the Tower, where he remained for two years. As there was doubt as to whether the charges against him amounted to treason, the case was abandoned by the Commons, and he was released, and retired into private life.

- 5. The Riot Act: 1715.—Though the Tories did not return to power for more than a generation, there was a considerable party in the nation favourable to them. Riots of Whig and Tory mobs took place in several towns. The men of Staffordshire assembled in crowds to applaud Jacobite speeches. The Government, however, acted promptly. The Riot Act, which had been passed in Queen Mary's time, was re-enacted and made permanent. By this measure, any crowd of more than twelve persons, which refused to disperse in a given time, might be scattered by military force. In anticipation of a Jacobite rising, the army and the navy were made ready for war. Lord Halifax died in May, and Walpole succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury in October.
- 6. The 'Fifteen: 1715.—The alarm of the King and his ministers was not without foundation. The Jacobites had undoubtedly been gaining ground both in England and in Scotland, and their hopes were raised by the personal unpopularity of the German King. In defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Pretender was in France, busily engaged in preparing for a descent on Scotland with the help of Louis XIV. The death of Louis, in the midst of these preparations, was a fatal blow to the prospects of the Pretender; for it was evident that the French Government would have enough to do in repairing the shattered resources of the country. But it was too late to draw back. Within a few days after the death of Louis, the flame of rebellion was actually kindled both in England and in Scotland. The Jacobites of Northumberland had been called to arms by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, the member for the county; but few of them had obeyed the summons. They were aided by 1,800 Highlanders, a reinforcement from the Earl of Mar, and were joined by a few lords of the Scottish

Border. But General Wills, who commanded the Royalist troops, forced Forster into the town of Preston in Lancashire, and there compelled him to surrender (November 13).

7. Battle of Sheriffmuir: 1715.—The rising in Scotland was headed by the Earl of Mar, who had gathered 10,000 clansmen around him at Braemar, and held all the Highlands for James; while the Duke of Argyle, with the Royalist army strongly posted at Stirling, watched his movements. Having made Perth his head-quarters, Mar advanced to Dunblane, evidently with the intention of crossing the Forth and marching southward. To prevent the latter movement, Argyle resolved to give battle to the Highland army at once, though he

could not muster more than 4,000 men. He attacked Mar's army on Sheriffmuir,<sup>2</sup> the high ground above Dunblane, on November 13, the same day on which Preston was taken. The right wing of each army was victorious, and the left was defeated. The victory was thus indecisive.



but the practical advantage remained with Argyle, as Mar was forced to abandon his southward march and to retire to Perth, his ranks thinned by the desertion of the Highlanders, who returned to their homes in large numbers.

8. The Pretender in Scotland: 1715-16.—The Chevalier de St. George, as the Pretender was called on the Continent, being resolved to see what his presence in the native land of the Stuarts would do, landed at Peterhead, on the coast of Aberdeenshire, on December 22nd; but with no money, no troops, no warlike stores. He found his party broken and dispirited;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Braemar, more correctly Castletown of Braemar, a village in the old district of Mar in Aberdeenshire.

<sup>2</sup> Sheriffmuir, on the slope of the Ochil Hills, in the south of Perthshire; 8 miles north of Stirling.

and his arrival without the aid from France which had been so eagerly looked for, cast a deeper gloom over the Stuart cause. At Perth he frivolously wasted many days in preparing for his coronation, while the crown was yet to be won. Amid his dreams of a splendour never to be realized, he heard that Argyle was advancing; and he retreated northward toward Montrose, where he and Mar embarked for France, leaving the army to its fate (February 4, 1716). The Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Kenmure, and about twenty others, suffered death. The Earl of Nithsdale was also condemned to death, but escaped from the Tower in women's clothes brought to him by his heroic wife on the evening before the day fixed for his execution. The Earl of Wintoun, Mr. Forster, and other rebel leaders, also escaped from prison. About twenty private persons were executed. The estates of many were confiscated; and more than a thousand were banished to North America.

- 9. The Septennial Act: 1716.—The effect on political parties of the failure of the rebellion was to discredit the Tories and greatly to strengthen the Government. Nevertheless, the Whigs were by no means sure of their hold on the country, and they were unwilling to lose the advantage which their majority in the House of Commons gave them. They therefore resolved to postpone the termination of the Parliament. The <sup>4</sup> proposal that the Parliament should prolong its own existence by a vote was denounced by the Tories as arbitrary and unconstitutional. But the Government pleaded the dangerous consequences to which a general election might lead, in the excited state of the country. On that ground they passed the Septennial Act, extending the possible duration of Parliaments to seven years. The Parliament then sitting, which had met on March 21, 1715, and should have expired in 1718, was not dissolved till March 10, 1722. Very few subsequent Parliaments have lasted a longer period than six years.
- 10. Foreign Affairs: 1716.—The position of George I. resembled in one respect that of William III. He valued his position as King of Great Britain as a means of strengthening the Electorate of Hanover. In this way he embroiled Britain

both with Sweden and with Spain. He had in 1716 bought from the King of Denmark the Duchy of Bremen. 1 which Charles XII. of Sweden had claimed. The Swedish minister intrigued with the Jacobites, but no active steps were taken in that direction at that time. George wished a British fleet to be sent to the Baltic, to attack not only Sweden, but also Russia, since Peter the Great had ventured for the first time to interfere in Western politics by sending an army into Mecklenburg. Lord Townshend offended George by thwarting him in these Continental schemes, and also by his supposed encouragement of the Prince of Wales in his quarrel with his The Earl of Sunderland, who was dissatisfied with his position of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, privately advised the King to get rid of his obdurate minister, which George, adopting the Tory view of ministerial responsibility, summarily did by transferring him to the Irish Viceroyalty. Lord Sunderland joined the King in Hanover, there to continue his intrigues.

11. The Triple Alliance: 1717.—Early in 1717, a Triple Alliance was formed by Great Britain with France and Holland, for the maintenance of the Hanoverian succession, and to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain. Britain was thus allied with France for the same purpose for which she had been allied with the Empire in the reign of Anne. But the position of affairs in France had changed. XIV. of France had died in 1715, and had been succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV., a sickly boy only five years old. Philip, Duke of Orleans, a nephew of Louis XIV., was Regent, while the nearest heir to the throne was Philip V. of Spain. Though Philip V. had renounced his right to the French throne, the Regent Orleans believed or feared that he would claim it in the event of the death of Louis XV. It was as much in his own interest, therefore, as in that of France, that Orleans entered into the Triple Alliance. A counter-alliance called the Northern League was then formed by Charles of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bremen. Not the Free City so called, lover, on the border of Oldenburg. Verbut an old German duchy, originally den was the chief town in the Duchy of a bishopric, and now secularized, in Han-

Sweden with his old enemy the Czar and with Spain. To prepare for the war which seemed imminent, George asked the Commons for large supplies. Walpole supported the vote in a very half-hearted manner, and it was carried by the narrow majority of four. Some of Lord Townshend's known adherents having voted in the minority, the King dismissed him from the Lord-Lieutenancy. Walpole and Pulteney resigned next day. General Stanhope became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Sunderland and Addison were Secretaries of State; and James Craggs succeeded Pulteney as Secretary at War. The Whig party was thus split in two, the section led by Townshend and Walpole going into opposition.

12. The Quadruple Alliance: 1718.—The arrangements of the allied powers were disconcerted by the schemes of Giulio Alberoni, an Italian cardinal, who had been made chief minister of Spain three years previously. With consummate skill and unscrupulousness he carried on intrigues in nearly all the courts of Europe-in Italy, in Austria, in France, in Great Britain, as well as in Sweden and Russia. The efforts of the allies to counteract them only threatened to draw them and all Europe into war. At that time, the British Ministry was Addison resigned in consequence of ill-health. rearranged. Lord Sunderland became First Lord of the Treasury. Stanhope (now Viscount Mahon, and soon to become Earl Stanhope) and Craggs were made Secretaries of State, the former having charge of foreign affairs; while John Aislabie was Chancellor of the Exchequer (March 1718). The Quadruple Alliance was then formed, by which Germany, Britain, France, and Holland leagued themselves against Philip of Spain. Admiral Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, in the south of Sicily. In retaliation, Alberoni, the Spanish minister, sent an expedition to invade Scotland in favour of the Pretender; but a storm having shattered the fleet, only two frigates reached Loch Alsh, in the south-west of Ross-shire, having on board the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth. Three hundred Spaniards were landed, and were joined by several hundred Highlanders. Though successful in their single engagement with the Royalist troops, the rebels saw the utter hopelessness of their case, and dispersed during the night. Seaforth, who was severely wounded, and two other Scottish nobles, re-embarked and escaped to the Continent. The Spanish soldiers surrendered next day. Soon afterwards, the death of Charles XII. broke up the Northern League. Next year the French crossed the Pyrenees, and defeated the Spaniards in several engagements. At length Philip was forced to dismiss Alberoni from office and to banish him from Spain (1719). Worsted by land and by sea, he then agreed to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance (1720).

### CHAPTER X.—THE RISE OF WALPOLE.

1. Rivalry of Stanhope and Walpole: 1717-20.—Stanhope's foreign policy was thus on the whole successful. had accomplished his object of humbling Spain without involving the country in an expensive war. His home policy was scarcely less successful, though he had to reckon with the opposition of the discontented Whigs led by Walpole. down of the impeachment of Oxford (Harley) was mainly due to their interference. But the Ministry increased its popularity by a comprehensive Act of Grace, issued in 1717, when many political prisoners were released. It was about this time that the Ministry was reconstituted, in order to give Stanhope the direction of the foreign policy of the Government. In 1718, the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 and the Schism Act of 1714 (see pages 55, 56)—both Tory measures—were repealed with the help of Walpole; but when Stanhope showed an inclination to repeal also the Test and Corporation Acts of Charles II. (see page 138), a threat of opposition from Walpole caused him to desist. The great battle, however, was fought on the Peerage Bill of 1719. That Bill was suggested by the creation of twelve Peers by Harley in 1711, in order to obtain a majority in the House of Lords. The power of the Whigs lay in the House of Lords, and they were afraid that a Tory Government

having a majority in the Commons might at any time join with the Crown in overthrowing that supremacy. The Bill therefore, among other limitations, proposed to restrict the number of new peerages to 6 above the existing number of 178. It was vehemently opposed by the Tories and by Walpole, and was defeated in the Commons by a majority of 92. The defeat, however, did not turn out the Government. That Stanhope should have been able to retain office in the face of such a vote shows that, though the principle of responsible party government had been acknowledged, its practice had not yet been fully established. The result further convinced Walpole and Townshend that they could do nothing in Opposition, and in 1720 they both re-entered the Government—the former as Paymaster of the Forces, the latter as Lord President of the Council. Walpole had now regained the favour of the King by having brought about a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Wales, with whom he had quarrelled.

- 2. The South Sea Scheme: 1720.—The Sunderland-Stanhope Ministry was now the most powerful that England had seen; but its end was not far off. Though strong against assaults from without, it collapsed from internal decay. What led directly to its ruin was its connection with the famous In 1719, the scheme of the Mississippi South Sea Scheme. Company, set on foot in Paris by Law, a Scottish banker, by which paper money was to take the place of gold and silver, had ruined thousands by its utter failure. In the following vear the South Sea Scheme set all England crazy. The National Debt then amounted to £53,000,000. The Government was obliged to pay to all who had lent the money—that is, who had invested money in the funds-interest at the rate of 6 per cent. at least; which came to £3,180,000 in the year. This was a heavy burden on a yearly revenue of £8,000,000; and to remove or lessen the debt was the problem that occupied the financiers of the day.
- 3. Plan of the Company.—The Bank of England and the South Sea Company proposed plans to accomplish this object. The latter had been established by Harley in 1711 as a means

of funding a portion of the National Debt. The holders of the stock were to receive interest at the rate of 6 per cent. at the end of five years, and were to enjoy the monopoly of trade in the South Sea—the coasts of South America. Though its privileges were more nominal than real, the Company flourished, and was now able to enter into competition with the Bank of England; and its offers were accepted by the Government. The Company agreed to redeem the public debt in twenty-six years, if certain additional trading privileges were granted to it. It took over annuities amounting to £800,000 a-year, paying the Government seven and a half millions sterling. A large proportion of the annuitants accepted the South Sea shares in lieu of the Government securities.

4. Collapse of the Bubble.—Stories of the treasure to be drawn from golden islands in the Pacific found eager listeners everywhere. The Company promised a dividend of fifty per cent. at least, and the shares rose rapidly. Hundreds rushed to the offices of the Company to exchange their Government stock for shares in the scheme. Rich men and poor widows, statesmen and errand-boys, jostling each other in the race for gold, paid their money across the counter, and received from the clerks pieces of paper which they fondly believed would secure to them the possession of twenty-fold riches. citement became a mania which infected thousands. paid away £1,000 for the chance of the profits which £100 might bring from the South Seas. The most ridiculous joint-stock companies were started in imitation of the great scheme—one for extracting silver from lead, another for making salt water fresh, a third for importing jack-asses from Spain. The South Sea directors, armed with an Act of Parliament, crushed these rival companies; but amid the smaller failures their own gigantic bubble burst. The price of its stock fell from £1,000 in August to £175 in September.

Abroad.—In 1720, the Emperor Charles VI. received the Two Sicilies from the Duke of Savoy, who received in exchange Sardinia, with the title of King Victor-Amadeus I. His descendant, Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, became King of Italy in 1861.

eyes of the nation were opened, and thousands became ruined bankrupts.

- 5. Retribution: 1721.—A cry for vengeance was then raised by the sufferers—a cry directed against the Government as well as against the directors of the Company. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the conduct of ministers, several of whom, including Sunderland, Stanhope, Aislabie, and Craggs, were accused of having accepted bribes to procure the passing of the Company's Bill. While defending himself against a virulent attack in the House of Lords, Earl Stanhope fell down in a fit of apoplexy, and died next day (February 5, 1721). Lord Sunderland resigned, and died in the following year. Craggs died of small-pox; and his father, the Postmaster-General, committed suicide. Aislabie was expelled from the House of Commons. Walpole took his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- 6. Walpole's Remedial Measures: 1721.—It now fell to Walpole as Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide a remedy for these gigantic evils. His splendid powers as a financier well fitted him for the task, and he had fortunately been out of the Ministry when the scheme was adopted. His plan was to divide the losses, and thus to make the pressure on the nation less. Nine millions of South Sea Stock were assigned to the Bank of England, and nine more to the East India Company; while the Government gave up the greater part of their bonus of seven and a half millions. The estates of the directors, amounting in value to two millions sterling, were sold, and were applied in compensating the shareholders. Though the directors had committed grave faults, and had been guilty of wholesale bribery, no illegal acts in conducting the business of the Company could be brought home to them; and it required a retrospective Act of Parliament to punish them. The real cause of the wide-spread misery was the frenzy of gambling speculation

Abroad.—In 1721, after the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, his kingdom was partially dismembered by Russia, Prussia, and Hanover. Sweden then lost also her position as a Great Power in Europe. In the same year, the Duchy of Schleswig was "inalienably" incorporated with Denmark.

that seized on all classes of the community. The Company had no doubt stimulated the madness by their delusive promises of vast dividends, but their punishment was an act of popular vengeance rather than of strict justice.

- 7. Walpole's Ministry: 1721.—Walpole was so evidently the most powerful man in the Ministry that, in April, he added the office of First Lord of the Treasury to that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Townshend and John, Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) were the Secretaries of State. The Earl of Macclesfield was Lord Chancellor. Marlborough was nominally at the head of the Ordnance till his death in the following year. William Pulteney, who had been a warm supporter of Walpole, expected a Cabinet place, but received only a Household post, and was disappointed and soured.
- 8. Walpole's Character.—For over twenty years Walpole continued to direct the Government. He was a man of little learning, rough and boisterous in his manners and in his life; but he held his great power with a passionate grasp, and preserved it, not very honestly, indeed, but with consummate tact. He had a low estimate of human nature. Of a band of boastful "Patriots" he said, "All these men have their price." He himself undoubtedly demoralized the Commons by scattering among them places, titles, and gold. In governing by corruption, however, he was simply following the evil custom of his time. His chief talent lay in finance. To his wise measures England owed great advances in her commerce and her manufactures.
- 9. Case of Bishop Atterbury: 1722-23.—One of the first troubles with which Walpole had to deal was a Jacobite plot. Francis Atterbury, the restless Bishop of Rochester, who had stood by Sacheverell (see page 53) during the crisis of his trial, and who had refused to sign the address of the bishops to George on his accession, intrigued for the return of the Pretender. The Jacobites asked aid from the Regent Orleans, and he betrayed their intentions to the British Government.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Walpole's motto was,  $Quieta\ non\ movere$ , [ Compare Lord Melbourne's saying, "Can't freely rendered, "Let alceping dogs He." | you let it alone?"

Walpole, on receipt of this information, proceeded to take active measures. Atterbury was sent to the Tower in August. The new Parliament, which met in October, was strongly Whig, and readily agreed to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act for twelve months. In the following year, a Bill of Pains and Penalties passed through both Houses, sentencing Atterbury to deprivation and exile (1723). The last years of his life, spent in France, were devoted to scheming both in favour of James and for his own return to England.

- 10. Return of Bolingbroke: 1723.—The efforts of Bolingbroke to get back to England put Walpole in a most unpleasant position. At the solicitation of the King, the minister gave his name to the reversal of the exile's forfeiture, but he insisted on retaining the clause which excluded him from the House of Lords. Bolingbroke took his revenge by allying himself with the enemies of Walpole-the Jacobites, the Tories, and the discontented Whigs. Though he could not make speeches in Parliament, he could write bitter attacks on the great minister, and he could intrigue against him in secret. He found a most active ally in Pulteney, who, in 1725, withdrew in disgust from the Ministry, and threw himself vigorously into the ranks of the Opposition, where he became the leader of "the Patriots," as the band of disappointed Whigs was called. In the pages of The Craftsman, a weekly newspaper, he and Bolingbroke wrote scathing denunciations of Walpole. But the minister was unmoved, and his power remained unshaken.
- 11. Wood's Halfpence and Drapier's Letters: 1723-24.—
  Ireland had accepted the Hanoverian succession quite peaceably. She had shown no sympathy with the Scottish rising of 1715, and her loyalty was rewarded with a renewal of the Regium Donum, or annual grant to the Presbyterians, which had been discontinued for four years. In 1719, the Irish Parliament, in spite of the virulent opposition of the Tories and of the Irish "Patriots" led by Dean Swift, passed a Toleration Act exempting Dissenters from penal laws. Now, however (1723-24), Ireland was convulsed by a question which in itself was of trifling importance. Copper money being scarce in that

country, a patent was granted to the Duchess of Kendal, a royal mistress, and was by her sold to William Wood, an English ironmaster, for the coinage of halfpence and farthings to the value of £108,000. Though Wood executed his contract quite honestly, there arose a strong prejudice against the new coins. The popular clamour found voice in the famous "Drapier's Letters" of Dean Swift, and the Ministry found it necessary to annul Wood's patent, and to grant him in compensation a pension of £3,000 for eight years.

- 12. Removal of Carteret: 1724.—During the turmoil, Lord Carteret arrived in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. Owing to a quarrel with Walpole, he had been obliged to resign his Secretaryship of State, and he had accepted the Viceroyalty to break his fall. He offered a reward for the divulgence of the name of the author of "Drapier's Letters." He also caused Harding, the printer of them, to be apprehended; but the grand jury threw out the bill, and threatened pains and penalties on any one who should impose the hated coinage. Carteret was succeeded in the Secretaryship of State by the Duke of Newcastle; and at the same time Henry Pelham, Newcastle's brother, joined the Ministry as Secretary at War. These men were destined to be the successors of Walpole as autocratic ministers.
- 13. The Scottish Ale Tax: 1725.—Another of Walpole's fiscal experiments caused some excitement in Scotland in the following year. Owing to the difficulty of collecting the malt tax, it was superseded by a tax of 3d. on every barrel of ale sold. The brewers of Edinburgh and of Glasgow made a great outcry against the new tax, and closed their breweries, and several riots occurred. The Government, however, stood firm, and the brewers gave way.
- 14. Ministerial Changes: 1725.—It is said that when the Scottish disturbances arose over the ale tax, Walpole threatened to withdraw from the Scottish members of Parliament the weekly allowances he made to them as long as they supported his Ministry. There is nothing improbable in the story. It was an age of corruption. A notable instance of it was the case of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, who was impeached for

practising extortion in the discharge of his high office. He was fined £30,000, and was sent to the Tower till the fine was paid. The new Chancellor was Lord King. Walpole's administration had now been in existence for four years, and it had already undergone great changes. Carteret, Carleton, Macclesfield, Marlborough, Pulteney had been removed either by estrangement or by death. Still the Ministry stood as firmly as ever, because of the strength of its head. Indeed, one of the charges brought against Walpole by his enemies—by Bolingbroke, for example—was that under him the despotism of a minister had taken the place of the despotism of the Crown. About this time, the Order of the Bath, which had been in abeyance since the coronation of Charles II., was revived, and Walpole and his son were both knighted.

- 15. Foreign Affairs: 1725-27.—Walpole's foreign policy was successful in maintaining peace, but toward the end of George's reign Europe at one time seemed to be drifting into war. Austria and Spain, having settled their differences, concluded in 1725 a treaty against Great Britain at Vienna. In defence, Great Britain concluded a counter-treaty at Hanover with France and Prussia. That was a diplomatic triumph for Walpole, because it prevented the outbreak of active hostilities. The only serious incident was an attack on Gibraltar by the Spaniards in 1727; but it signally failed.
- 16. Death of the King: 1727.—Before that, George I. was dead. He crossed over to Hanover, as usual, in June, accompanied by Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal. While travelling in his coach toward Osnabruck, he was seized with apoplexy, and died before he reached his destination (June 10). He was in his sixty-eighth year. His wife, Sophia-Dorothea of Zell, had died a few months before him. She had been imprisoned for thirty-two years in the castle of Ahlden, in Hanover, for an alleged intrigue with a Swedish count. On her death-bed she protested her innocence, as she had done from the first.
- 17. Character of George I.—The first King of the Hanoverian dynasty was a thorough German in his character and habits.

In his manner he was cautious and reserved. He filled the English court with Hanoverians, and he did not discourage their intrigues to win favour, wealth, and power. He always thought more of Hanoverian interests than of those of Great Britain. He was greedy of power, and came to England with a determination to rule personally; but there never was a King of England who was more of a non-entity. He showed great partiality for the Whigs, not because he preferred their principles, but because he believed that they were most likely to make his throne secure.

18. The Constitution.—The outstanding constitutional event of the reign was the peaceful settlement of the succession in accordance with the will of Parliament. The principle was now thoroughly recognized and acknowledged that the British sovereign is a Parliamentary sovereign.

The most important statute of the reign was the Septennial Act (1716). Thirty-one peers protested against it. It was scarcely in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution to make the Act apply to the Parliament then sitting; but it must be remembered that a dissolution was the thing which the Government wished especially to avoid. The reason alleged for the change was the disturbed state of the country following on the Jacobite rising. The real reason was the fear that the Whigs would be turned out of office. The offence, if offence there was, was condoned; for the next Parliament, returned in 1722, was even more Whig than its predecessor. An attempt to limit the power of creating new peers in 1719 was defeated in the House of Commons.

There were three Parliaments in George's reign. The first, which was Anne's last Parliament, was continued, as provided in the Act of Settlement, till January 1715. The second met in March 1715, and lasted till March 1722, thus extending to its utmost limit under the Septennial Act. The third lasted from October 1722 till August 1727.

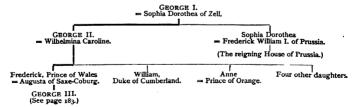
The constitution of the Cabinet as a united body, supported by a party majority in the House of Commons, was completed in the reign of Anne. It is evident, however, that George I.

would have upset it if he could. It was his intention to be his own chief minister, and he was prevented from taking that place only by his inability to speak or to understand English. When occasion arose in 1716, he acted on the obsolete Tory view of ministerial dependence by dismissing Townshend from his Secretaryship of State, because that minister opposed his foreign schemes. George's lack of English led to the abandonment by the sovereign of the custom of being present at the private meetings of ministers. The Cabinet thus became more independent and more powerful. It followed, almost necessarily, that one minister took the lead and presided at meetings of the Cabinet, and in due course received the title of Prime Minister—a title, not an office, which may be borne in connection with any of the great offices in the State. this time, however, it was customary for the Prime Minister to take the office of First Lord of the Treasury. the Treasury, like the House of Commons itself, owed his supremacy to his holding the strings of the national purse.

The Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 and the Schism Act of 1714 were both repealed in 1718.

An Act was passed in 1719, asserting the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland. It remained in force till 1782, when it was repealed to allow "Grattan's Parliament" to meet.

#### HOUSE OF HANOVER.



#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- 1714. Whig Ministry of Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole.
- 1715. Bolingbroke and Ormond retired to France
  —Oxford impeached and imprisoned—Jacohite rising of Mar in Scotland; of Forster
  and Derwentwater in England—Walpole First
  Lord of the Treasury.
- 1716. The Septennial Act passed.
- 1717. The Triple Alliance (Britain, France, and Holland)—Resignation of Townshend, Walpole, and Pulteney—Oxford acquitted.
- 1718. Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts repealed — Quadruple Alliance (Britain, France, Holland, Austria).
- 1719. Failure of Spanish invasion of Scotland. 1720. The South Sea Company and Government Stocks.
- 1721. Walpole as Chancellor of the Exchequer restored public credit—Walpole Prime Minister.
- 1723. Jacobite plot Atterbury banished Return of Bolingbroke.
- 1724. Ale riots in Scotland.
- 1725. Treaty of Vienna (Austria and Spain)— Treaty of Hanover (Britain, France, and Prussia)—Lord Chancellor Macclesfield fined for corruption.
- 1727. Death of George L.

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

- John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1718; implicated in South Sea scheme, expelled from the House, 1721.
- Duke of Argyle (John Campbell), implicated in massacre of Glencoe. 1692; fought under Mariborough, 1708-10; Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, 1711; frustrated Bolingbroke's schemes, 1714; commanded royal troops at Sheriffmur, 1715.
- Francis Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle, 1704; supported Dr. Sacheverell, 1710; Bishop of Rochester, 1712; engaged in Jacobite plot, 1722, banished; became chief adviser of the Pretender, 1723; died, 1732.
- Viscount Bolingbroke (Henry St. John), fled to France and attainted, 1715; returned, 1723; intrigued and wrote against Walpole, 1724.
- Sir George Byng, admiral, defeated Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, 1718; made Viscount Torrington, 1721.
- John, Lord Carteret, Whig statesman, ambassador to Sweden. 1719; Secretary of State, 1721; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1724-30; afterwards Earl of Granville.
- Earl of Mar (John Erskine), Scottish Secretary of State, 1710; leader of Jacobite rising, fought at Sheriffmuir, 1716; escaped to France, 1716; imprisoned at Geneva, 1719-20.
- Duke of Mariberough, reappointed Commanderin-Chief, 1714; attack of paralysis, 1716; head of the ordnance, 1721; died 1722.
- Duke of Newcastle (Thomas Pelham), succeeded his wife's uncle (Duke of Newcastle #1711; created Duke, 1715; Lord Chamberlain, 1716; adhered to Sunderland and Stanhope,

- 1717; joined Townshend and Walpole, 1720; Secretary of State, 1724.
- Duke of Ormond (James Butler), fied to France to avoid prosecution, and attainted, 1715.
- Earl of Oxford (Robert Harley), impeached and imprisoned, 1715; acquitted, 1717; died,
- Henry Pelham (younger brother of Duke of Newcastle), a Lord of the Treasury, 1721; Secretary at War, 1724.
- Earl of Peterborough, General of the Marine Forces, 1714; secured the dismissal of Alberoni, 1719.
- William Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), Secretary at War, 1714; resigned, 1717: Cofferer of the Household, 1721; joined the Opposition, 1725.
- General Stanhope. Secretary of State, 1714; First Lord of the Treasury, 1717; Secretary of State, 1718; died, 1722.
- Earl of Sunderland, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1714; Secretary of State, 1717; First Lord of the Treasury, 1718; forced to resign, 1721; died, 1722.
- Viscount Townshend, married Walpole's sister, 1710; Secretary of State and Chief Minister, 1714; dismissed by the King, and made Viceroy of Ireland, 1716; resigned, 1717; re-entered the Ministry, 1720; Secretary of State in Walpole's Ministry, 1721.
- Robert Walpole, Paymaster of the Forces, 1714; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1715; resigned, 1717; Paymaster of the Forces, 1720; Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, 1721.

# REIGN OF GEORGE II. (HANOVER).

### CHAPTER XL-WALPOLE IN POWER.

1. Accession of George II.: 1727.—The new King had reached the ripe age of forty-four when he ascended the throne. Like his mother, with whom he had sympathized, he had been jealously exiled from the English Court. One advantage which he possessed over his father was that he could speak English. George wished to make his friend Sir Spencer Compton Prime Minister, and actually offered him the post; but Compton had the sense to see that he was not fitted for its duties, and accepted instead the office of Lord President of the Council, with the title of Earl of Wilmington. By the advice of Queen Caroline, Walpole was continued at the head of affairs. minister found in the Queen a true and stanch friend; and as George consulted her on all affairs of State, and generally followed her advice, Walpole's influence over him was great, without being obtrusive. The Whigs retained the ascendency in the new Parliament, which met in January 1728. strength of the Opposition lay in the discontented Whigs, led

Ireland.—In 1727, Ulster suffered severely from scarcity of food, owing, it was said, to too large a proportion of the land being given up to pasturage. An Act was passed requiring every proprietor to plough at least 5 per cent. of the acreage of his land. The Presbyterians attributed the distress to the burden of tithes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George II., son of George I. and Sophia-Dorothea. Born 1683. Married, 1705, three daughters. Reigned 33 years.

by Pulteney. Lord Carteret now openly joined the Opposition in the House of Lords.

- 2. Quarrel of Walpole and Townshend: 1730.—The quarrel between Walpole and Lord Townshend came to an open rupture in the following year. Their differences on questions of foreign policy began with the Treaty of Hanover in 1725, which Townshend had really negotiated with great skill, though Walpole thought he had been too hasty. The real question at issue, however, was, which of them was to be master in the Walpole, who saw that the principle of the Prime Minister's supremacy was at stake, insisted that "the firm must be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole." The final explosion came in connection with the Pension Billa private member's Bill, intended to exclude pension-holders from Parliament. Walpole deliberately allowed the Bill to pass in the House of Commons, in order that the odium of rejecting it might fall on the House of Lords, where Townshend was the leader. There was a violent altercation between the brothersin-law, who nearly came to blows; and as it was impossible for both to remain in the Ministry, Townshend had to go. Carteret and Pultenev. Townshend was in fact driven from office by Walpole's masterful spirit; but he magnanimously withdrew from politics and retired into private life, where he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, to the great advantage of the country.
- '3. Foreign Affairs: 1730-31.—The Treaty of Seville, concluded with Spain and France in 1729, was another triumph for the pacific policy of Walpole. It was, however, a great disappointment to the Emperor Charles VI., who, having no son to succeed him, had in 1724 issued a Pragmatic Sanction, or imperial decree, settling his hereditary dominions (Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria) on his daughter Maria-Theresa. He had joined with Spain in the Treaty of Vienna (1725), in order to secure the support of that country to the Pragmatic Sanction. But thereby he had offended Britain, France, and Prussia, who formed the counter-Treaty of Hanover. Now in the Treaty of Seville, Britain, France, and Spain, with Holland to boot,

appeared as allies, pledged to hand over the Italian duchies of Parma and Tuscany to the young Don Carlos. The Emperor indicated his willingness to agree to the terms of the Treaty of Seville, if only the Powers would guarantee the *Pragmatic Sanction*. This was done in the second Treaty of Vienna, March 1731. One of the terms agreed to confirmed to the South Sea Company the *Assiento* (or contract) for supplying the Spanish colonies in America with negro slaves.

- 4. The Excise Bill: 1733 .- The first great battle of Walpole's administration was fought over his Excise Bill. customs are duties paid by importers on certain foreign productions when landed on our shores. The excise is an inland tax levied on articles manufactured at home, and paid generally by the retail dealers. In order to lessen the tax on land, Walpole added salt to the excisable articles; but as that did not produce sufficient revenue, he proposed also to bring tobacco at once, and wine afterwards, under the excise duties. As reasons for the change, he urged the difficulty of collecting the customs, and the increase of smuggling, which was now practised to an incredible extent. The tobacco merchants set up a cry of ruin, and denounced the Bill as a proposal to invade their private houses with an army of excisemen. These cries were loudly echoed by the Opposition. The "Patriots" professed to see in the measure a scheme by which Walpole meant to create a host of dependants, whose votes would carry the day in every election. When the prudent minister saw the violence of the storm, he withdrew the Bill, content to lose his point rather than risk his power. He, however, dismissed some members of his Cabinet who had either given him half-hearted support or had intrigued with the Opposition. Chief of these was the Earl of Chesterfield.
- 5. Retirement of Bolingbroke: 1735.—The Opposition, exulting in their success, strove the next session to repeal the Septennial Act; but the attempt failed. In the new Parliament, which met in January 1735, Walpole's majority, though slightly reduced, was quite large enough to make his power secure. Bolingbroke now felt that his game was played out. He was

neither so much feared by the Government, nor so much trusted by the Opposition, as he would have liked. Indeed, he had quarrelled with Pulteney. He had failed to undermine Walpole's power to any appreciable extent, and he had no hope of returning to public life while Walpole was in office. He therefore prudently retired once more to France, where he remained till Walpole's fall.

- 6. European War: 1734-35.—The second Treaty of Vienna was no more a permanent settlement than the first had been. A dispute occurred about the succession to the Polish crown, in which France was interested from the marriage of Louis XV. with the daughter of ex-King Stanislaus. When France interfered on behalf of Stanislaus, the Emperor interfered on behalf of his rival. Thence arose a new European war (1734), in which France, Spain, and Sardinia attacked Austria. The result was that the Austrians were driven out of Naples and Sicily, and that Don Carlos, who was already Duke of Parma, became King of the Two Sicilies with the title of Charles III. (1735). When the Definitive Treaty of Vienna, after three years of negotiation. ·was at length concluded in 1738, the Spanish Bourbons were confirmed in their possession of the Two Sicilies, and the Pragmatic Sanction was again ratified by France. Walpole had steadily refused to be led into the war, but his Government took a large share in the negotiations for peace. His refusal to take part in the war was one of the grounds on which he was attacked by the Opposition. Sir William Wyndham described him as neglecting the true interests of the nation, and sacrificing her honour and credit to the love of office.
- 7. The Porteous Mob: 1736.—In 1736 all Scotland was agitated by the Porteous Riot, so graphically described by Scott in "The Heart of Midlothian." The mob of Edinburgh,

Abroad.—In 1735, Don Carlos, second son of Philip V. of Spain, received Naples from Austria, and became King of the Two Sicilies. This was the beginning of the Bourbon dominion in Italy, which came to an end in 1861.

Ireland.—In 1735, the Irish Parliament passed resolutions against the Established clergy recovering tithes except on the produce of sheep and tillage.

enraged at the execution of a smuggler named Wilson, who had roused their admiration by helping a fellow-prisoner named Robertson to escape, pelted the hangman and the soldiers. Captain Porteous, commander of the City Guard, ordered his men to fire on the crowd, and several were killed. For this he was sentenced to death; but a reprieve came from London, and the rumour spread that in a few days he would receive a full pardon. It was resolved that he should not escape. On the night of the 17th of September, the jail in which he lay was broken open by a mob, and he was brought out and hanged on a dyer's pole. The Government, on learning of this violence, brought in a Bill to demolish the walls and take away the charter of Edinburgh. So spirited, however, was the resistance of the Scottish members that the measure was abandoned, and only a fine of £2,000 was imposed on the city.

8. Death of Queen Caroline: 1737.—The death of Queen Caroline in 1737 deprived Walpole of a warm friend and supporter, and was the first serious blow to his power. It did not at once diminish his influence with the King, but it did so in He had now, however, to contend with Frederick, Prince of Wales, who, since Bolingbroke's departure, had been the centre if not the head of the Opposition, and who had now openly quarrelled with his father and been expelled from the The chief ground of quarrel was the King's refusal to increase his income, or to give him Parliamentary security for it. In this the King was supported by Walpole, and therefore Walpole's enemies were the Prince's friends. Pulteney, Carteret, Chesterfield, Wyndham, and the "Patriots" were always welcome at Norfolk House, the Prince's residence in St. James's Square. Walpole had also to contend against a brilliant phalanx of literary men, among whom were Swift, Pope, and Gay. Unlike Godolphin and Halifax, Walpole despised letters, and refused to accept the aid of literary men in political controversy. He regarded with something like scorn the young men who were attracted by the sentiment of the Patriots and by the pungency of the Satirists. "The boys" he called them, "each of whom had his price." He found his

mistake by-and-by when there arose from the despised band the stripling Pitt, before whose assaults the great minister was at last to quail.

- 9. Rise of Methodism: 1739.—The Methodists arose within the Established Church of England about this time. The name -like many other historical names, a mere nickname at firsthad reference to the exact and methodical performance by the persons so called of their religious duties and exercises. founder of the body was John Wesley, who, when a student at Oxford, used to hold meetings for prayer in his college-rooms (1730). Carrying into the world the same spirit of earnest pietv. he soon became a celebrated preacher. He was zealously aided by George Whitfield, whose stirring eloquence reached the hearts of thousands. The Methodist movement was not an ecclesiastical but a personal reformation, and it had a powerful influence on the lives of the lower classes especially. Its fundamental doctrine was the necessity of personal salvation and selfconsecration. Whitfield was the great apostle of the movement. but Wesley was its wise and practical organizer. Wesley desired to carry on his work within the Church, but he was driven out of it by those who thought that enthusiasm was vulgar. When he died in 1791, the Methodists in all parts of the British Empire numbered 80,000.
- 10. The Spanish War: 1739—41.—At last, and very much against his will, Walpole was forced into a war with Spain; and all his fears as to the disastrous effect it would have on his power were realized. The war was occasioned by the restrictions which the Treaty of Utrecht had placed on British trade with the Spanish colonies in South America. By that treaty only one British ship a year was allowed to land goods at Panama. Both the Spanish colonists and the British merchants complained loudly of the limitation, and a great amount of smuggling was carried on. To prevent this, the Spanish Government claimed and used the right to search British vessels in the Spanish Main. British sailors inflamed the minds of the people by their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Methodists. In 1889, the total number | sections of the Methodist Church was estion members and adherents of the different | mated at 25,000,000.

stories of the cruelties inflicted on them by the Spaniards. One Captain Jenkins made a great sensation by producing to a committee of the House of Commons one of his ears wrapped up in wadding, which he said had been cut off by a Spanish coastguard. The demand for war became general. Walpole tried negotiation, but in vain, and war was proclaimed. When he heard the London joy-bells ringing for the declaration of the war, he was heard to mutter-"They may ring their bells now; they will soon be wringing their hands." The town of Portobello on the Isthmus of Darien was taken; but disasters soon eclipsed this brief success. A great fleet and army under Admiral Vernon and Lord Wentworth failed in an attack on Carthagena,1 chiefly through the disagreement of the leaders. The unhealthy climate swept off the British in hundreds; and there arose great discontent at home. All the blame of these failures was cast on Walpole, who had disapproved of the war, and was supposed to be indifferent to its success.

11. Anson's Voyage round the Globe: 1741-44.—Commodore Anson was sent with a squadron to relieve Vernon; but, failing in his object, he sailed into the South Seas, plundered Paita, a port of Chili, and, after three years' cruising, took a Spanish treasure-ship bound for Manilla, laden with £300,000. He returned to England in 1744 with a solitary ship, having sailed round the world. The people, dazzled by the wealth he brought more than by his great achievement, received him with joy. He was subsequently made a peer.

12. Walpole's Fall: 1742.—The persistent attacks on Walpole by the Opposition, led by Pulteney and supported by William Pitt—who had been in Parliament for six years, and was making his great power felt—were now producing their effect in the country. A new Parliament met in December 1741, and then the Prime Minister found that his majority had almost disappeared. When the Committee of the whole House took up, in the way then usual, the Chippenham election

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Carthagena, a fortified sea-port of the Republic of Colombia (South America). It is on the Caribbean Sea, about 200 Islands, in the East Indian Archipelago.

petition, he was defeated by a majority of one. That showed how completely the tide had turned, and Walpole resigned (February 17).

#### CHAPTER XIL-THE 'FORTY-FIVE.

- 1. The New Ministry: 1742.—Hatred of Walpole and nothing else had held the Opposition together. Now that he was removed, it fell to pieces at once. No one of the leaders who had been so valiant in attack was prepared to take the place which their combined efforts had rendered vacant. Though Walpole's supporters had dwindled, the majority of the House of Commons was still decidedly Whig. A composite Ministry, consisting of the old and the new Whigs, was the only practical arrangement; and this was carried out, under the nominal leadership of the Earl of Wilmington (formerly Sir Spencer Compton), with whom George had tried to displace Walpole at the beginning of his reign. The real head of the Ministry was Lord Carteret, who became a Secretary of State. Newcastle retained his Secretaryship, and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke also kept his post. Samuel Sandys was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pulteney sank into obscurity as Earl of Bath. No place was found as yet for William Pitt.
- 2. The Place Bill: 1742.—Walpole's enemies were not yet done with him. He also had been sent to the Upper House, with the title of Earl of Orford; but he was not allowed to rest in peace. A Committee was appointed to inquire into the acts of the late Government, and charges of peculation and extravagance were formulated against Walpole. To these charges, however, the House of Commons refused to listen. Parliament contented itself with the indirect censure implied in passing the *Place Bill* (1742), which reduced very considerably the number of public offices which members of Parliament might hold, the object being to put a check on bribery.
- 3. The Austrian Succession: 1742.—While Walpole was yet in power, a new European war—the War of the Austrian Succession—had broken out. When Charles VI. of Austria

died in 1740, his daughter Maria-Theresa succeeded to his patrimonial dominions with the title of Queen of Hungary, in terms of the Pragmatic Sanction. (See page 79.) Scarcely had she ascended the throne when Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, demanded the Austrian crown; and he was supported by Louis of France. At the same time Frederick II. of Prussia seized Silesia. The British were alarmed at this union of France with Prussia, which, under Frederick, was fast rising to be one of the leading powers in Europe; and their chivalry was roused at the perilous position of a young Queen surrounded by greedy and treacherous foes.

- 4. Battle of Dettingen: 1743.—In 1742, Maria-Theresa concluded with Prussia the Treaty of Breslau, by which she surrendered Silesia to Frederick, thus buying off his opposition, and leaving herself free to contend with France and Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria had in the meantime been chosen Emperor with the title of Charles VII. George II. was deeply interested in the struggle as Elector of Hanover, and gave Maria-Theresa his hearty support. In 1743, at the head of an army consisting mainly of Hanoverians and Hessians, he defeated the French at Dettingen on the Main—the last occasion on which a British sovereign was under fire.
- 5. Threatened Invasion: 1744.—George, with the help of Carteret, his Foreign Secretary, then strove to bring about a coalition of the chief German States, with Hanover at their head, against France. The Treaty of Worms was the result, in which Great Britain, Hanover, Austria, and Saxony were joined by Holland and Sardinia (1743). This coalition alarmed Frederick of Prussia, who was well aware of Austria's desire to He therefore formed with France a counterrecover Silesia. league at Frankfort, and declared war. Though war was not yet formally declared between Great Britain and France, the French Government collected at Dunkirk an army for the invasion of England on behalf of Charles-Edward, the Young Pretender. The Brest fleet was ready to convoy the transports containing the soldiers, when a terrific storm scattered such of the transports as had sailed, and the expedition was abandoned. Shortly

afterwards war was declared between Great Britain and France (1744). In the meantime, the influence of Newcastle in the Cabinet had been growing, and that of Carteret had been declining.

- 6. Dismissal of Carteret: 1744.—Carteret's Hanoverian policy was vehemently denounced by Pitt. His war policy was opposed by Walpole and his followers. When Wilmington had died in 1743, Henry Pelham (Newcastle's brother) had succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury, and at the same time had become Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was fatal to Carteret's power. Before the end of 1744, Newcastle was able to insist on his being dismissed, and the Ministry was reconstituted, with Henry Pelham as Prime Minister. The administration then formed was called the "Broad Bottom," comprehending as it did men of all parties—Whigs, Tories, and even Jacobites. There was actually no Opposition left; for though George had declined to allow Pitt to take office, Pelham had induced Pitt to abstain from giving him trouble.
- 7. Battle of Fontency: 1745.—In 1745, the Emperor Charles VII. died, and Maria-Theresa's husband, Francis-Joseph, Grand Duke of Tuscany, became Emperor as Francis I. This was so far a triumph for British policy, but it had been gained by the expenditure of vast sums of British money for which there was no return. The Pelhams in power found themselves constrained by circumstances to pursue the same Hanoverian policy for adopting which they had driven Carteret The war still went on. In April of this year, the from office. French under Marshal Saxe invaded the Netherlands. combined force of British and Dutch—the former commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, the King's second son-marched against them. A battle was fought at Fontenov, in Belgium. in which the allies were defeated, the successful charge of the British not having been supported by the Dutch. The French then took possession of the frontier towns.
  - 8. Jacobite Rebellion: 1745.—Great Britain, however, was

<sup>1</sup> Fontency, south-east of Tournay. (See Map, page 24.)

more affected by an episode of this war—the 'Forty-five—than by the main current of events on the Continent. As an act of retaliation. France encouraged the exiled Stuarts to make a bold push for the British throne. The expedition of 1744 had failed, as we have seen. A more determined effort was now to be made. On July 25, 1745, Charles-Edward Stuart1—the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" of Jacobite song-landed from a French brig, near Moidart 2 on the coast of Inverness-shire. He came with only seven officers-"the Seven Men of Moidart," among whom Lord Tullibardine was prominent—to conquer the British Islands; but at five-and-twenty hope is strong in the human breast. Many Highland chieftains, of whom the most distinguished was Cameron of Lochiel, hastened to his side; and his standard was raised at Glenfinnan<sup>3</sup> (August 19). At the head of 700 clansmen, whose hearts he had won by donning the kilt, he commenced a southward march.

- 9. Charles-Edward at Holyrood: 1745.—Sir John Cope, the Royalist leader, had incautiously moved to Inverness, and the road was open. At Perth, Charles was proclaimed Regent for his father, "James VIII." Thence he passed through Linlithgow to Edinburgh, winning all hearts by his bright smiles and charming courtesy. His little army had swelled to more than 1,000 men. The capital was unguarded, except by the dragoons of Colonel Gardiner. The magistrates, indeed, were loyal, and the Castle held out for the King; but the citizens gladly opened their gates to the young Stuart, who took up his abode in the Palace of Holyrood (September 17).
- 10. Battle of Prestonpans: 1745.—The same day Cope, having sailed southward, was landing his troops at Dunbar, with the intention of marching on Edinburgh. Charles resolved

Ireland.—During the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1745-46, Ireland remained tranquil. The Earl of Chesterfield was Lord-Lieutenant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Charles-Edward, son of James Stuart, the Old Pretender, and therefore grandson of James II. He is also known as the "Young Pretender," and the "Chevalier Douglas."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Moidart, a district and loch in the extreme south-west of the county. (See Map, page 91.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Glenfinnan, at the head of Loch Shiel, in the east of Moidart.

to give battle at once. Moving, therefore, with a force of 2,500 men, he had reached the brow of Carberry Hill when he saw the Royalist army in the narrow plain next the sea. The Highlanders longed to rush on the enemy from the moment that the armies came in sight of each other, and could hardly be induced to wait for another dawn. The great difficulty was the passage of a deep morass which spread between the hosts. A pathway which avoided the difficult portions of the swamp was discovered, and in the middle of the night the Highlanders followed it, and reached firm ground. At dawn the armies faced each other on



the same level field; and in about six minutes more the Highlanders had won the Battle of Prestonpans, or Gladsmuir, as the Jacobites preferred to call it (September 21). One rush did all. Having first discharged their pistols, the clansmen rushed on with the claymore, caught the bayonet points in their targets, and threw their enemies into confusion. The Royalist army broke in two. A few dragoons galloped off to Edinburgh, but the main body of the army fled, with Sir John at their head, to the shelter of Berwick walls. The royal artillery, stores, and money-chest containing £2,500, fell into the hands of the victors.

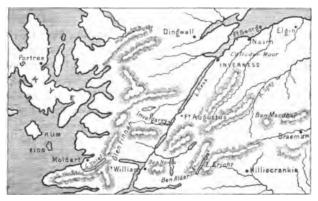
11. Invasion of England: 1745.—If Charles had then pressed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prestonpans, eight and a half miles east of Edinburgh.

on to London, the House of Hanover might have been driven from England. But his ranks were thin, and six weeks passed before he could muster 5,000 men. During these six weeks, Royalist troops poured in from Flanders, and the Duke of Cumberland raised an army to defend the throne. On October 31, Charles left Holyrood for the purpose of invading England. He had then mustered nearly 6,000 men, of whom 500 were cavalry. The siege of Carlisle occupied some days. After its capture, the southward march was resumed in two bodies—one under the Prince himself, the other under Lord George Murray. No sign of an English rising greeted the invaders as they passed through Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, on to Preston, where the first few recruits were obtained. At Manchester, so many joined the Pretender's flag that a Manchester regiment was organized.

- 12. The Halt at Derby: 1745.—Then, however, the Royalists began to stir. Marshal Wade was marching down through Yorkshire; Cumberland, lying at Lichfield with 8,000 men, blocked the southward path; George himself covered London with another force. Derby was reached on the 4th of December; but further Murray and the other officers refused to go. There had been no English rising, no French descent. Their little force of 5,000 men, daily dwindling, was almost hemmed in by three armies numbering 30,000. The only way open to them was the way back again to Scotland. Charles-Edward yielded, sorely against his will, and the homeward march was at once begun.
- 13. Skirmish at Falkirk: 1746.—With dejected hearts and a hopeless leader, the army reached the heart of Scotland. A slight success at Falkirk (January 17), where he defeated General Hawley, roused the drooping heart of the Prince for a time; but he was still driven northward, and had to shelter himself among the Grampians. Cumberland had already arrived in Scotland to conduct the war. A body of Hessians, landing at Leith, enabled him to gather a considerable force for the Highland expedition. Perth became his head-quarters. Meanwhile Charles-Edward approached Inverness from the south-east.

14. A Night March.—The Prince fixed his head-quarters at Culloden House, and there he heard that Cumberland's army had reached Nairn, and had given themselves up to revelry in honour of their commander's birthday (April 15). Murray and the Prince agreed in resolving on a night march and a surprise. When the march began, the darkness of the night misled and impeded the Highlanders, who were weak from want of sufficient food. Two o'clock came when they were still four miles from the foe, so that the intended surprise could not be



managed. Falling back, the rebels drew up in line of battle on Culloden Moor.<sup>1</sup>

15. Battle of Culloden: 1746.—The Athole Brigade, the Camerons, and the Stewarts formed the main portion of the right wing; the Macdonalds, angry at the loss of the post of honour, which they considered the ancestral privilege of their clan, mustered gloomily on the left. At eleven, the foe began to appear in dark masses on the horizon (April 16). Cumberland drew up his men in three lines, with cavalry on each wing, and artillery peering out through gaps in the front line. In the opening cannonade the royal army had greatly the advantage. Impatient under the fire, Murray got leave from the Prince to make an onset with the right and the centre. Round-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Culloden Moor, or Drummossie Moor, 8 miles north-east of Inverness.

shot and grape could not stay the whirlwind of their attack. Right through the regiments of the front line the Highlanders went; but beyond the broken array they rushed on a living wall, which burst into a sheet of flame at their approach, and hurled them back scorched and reeling.

Following up the effect of their volley, the royal troops charged the exhausted rebels and swept them in pitiable rout from the scene of their short success. So much for the right and the centre. On the left stood the Macdonalds, watching with sullen brows the carnage of their countrymen. Refusing to fight, although their leader rushed forward in their view till bullets pierced him with many mortal wounds, they fell back to the fragments of the second line. Further resistance was impossible; the battle was over. A faithful adherent, named O'Sullivan, seizing the bridle of the Prince's horse, forced him to leave the hopeless scene. One portion of the defeated army surrendered at Inverness; the other melted away into the glens and corries from which its motley materials had come.

16. Wanderings and Escape: 1746.—At dawn on the 17th, Charles-Edward was sleeping in his clothes on the floor of Invergarry 1 Castle. Eight days later he put to sea in a small boat, which was buffeted hither and thither by storms, until he succeeded in reaching South Uist.2 It proved a place of danger. From the keen search of two thousand men he was saved by the devotion of Flora Macdonald, who took him over to Skye in the disguise of her servant. Going thence to the mainland, he endured terrible hardships for some months. Though the Government offered a reward of £30,000 for his person, the Highlanders remained faithful to him in his adversity. last he heard that two French ships had arrived at the coast,3 and were waiting there to take him off. Travelling only in the dark, he reached the shore in safety, and on the 20th of September-more than five months after the Battle of Culloden, and not quite fourteen months since he had sprung ashore at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Invergarry, near Loch Oich; 7 miles 20 miles south-west of the Isle of Skye. south-west of Fort-Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> At Loch-na-Nuagh, in west of Inver<sup>2</sup> South Vist, one of the Outer Hebrides; ness-shire; 5 miles north of Loch Moidart.

same place with the Men of Moidart—he gladly re-embarked for France. Running in a fog through the English cruisers, he landed on the 29th near Morlaix.1

- 17. Punishment of the Rebels.—About eighty suffered death for this rebellion, among whom were the Scottish Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat. The clansmen were forbidden to wear the Highland dress; 2 the chieftains were deprived of nearly all their ancient power; and the appointment of the sheriffs-long a hereditary office-was vested in the Crown.
- 18. Later Days of Charles-Edward.—Charles-Edward spent his later days at Rome, under the title of Duke of Albany. Though the Jacobites long continued the custom of passing their glasses over the water-decanter, as they drank to "the King over the water," the 'Forty-five was the last effort of the exiled family to regain the British throne. The gallant young soldier, of whom so much has been said and sung, sank in later life into a hopeless drunkard. He died of apoplexy in 1788; and nineteen years later died his brother Henry, Cardinal of York, the last male of the royal Stuart line.
- 19. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: 1748.—The war still lingered on the Continent. In 1745, Austria captured Dresden, and forced a peace on Frederick of Prussia, in which he acknowledged Francis as Emperor. Three years later the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed by the other belligerents. rival nations agreed to restore their conquests. The Protestant succession in Great Britain was guaranteed, and the Pretender and his family were excluded from France.

## CHAPTER XIII.—THE CONQUEST OF INDIA.

1. Rise of William Pitt.—Ever since the retirement of Walpole, the man who had been most steadily coming to the front in English politics was William Pitt, "the Great Commoner."

His grandfather was that Governor of Madras who had brought from India the celebrated Pitt diamond, which so long sparkled on the crown of France. William left the university without having taken a degree, and for a short time served as a cornet in the Life Guards Blue. Having entered the House of Commons in 1735 as member for Old Sarum, he soon became so troublesome to the Ministry that Walpole had him dismissed from the army. Thenceforward he devoted himself to politics. He gained the favour of the Prince of Wales, and consequently lost that of the King, whom he further incensed by his anti-Hanoverian speeches during the War of the Austrian Succession. The consequence was that when the Pelhams, who came into power in 1744, proposed to give him a place in the "Broad Bottom" Ministry, the King obstinately refused to allow it.

- 2. Pitt in Office: 1746.—Pitt was strong enough to be able to bide his time. Lord Orford (Walpole) had died in 1745, and Lord Granville (Carteret) had regained his influence with the King, of whose Hanoverian policy he was the chief sup-Pelham objected to this secret influence, and insisted, as a counterpoise, that Pitt should be added to the Ministry. When the King refused, Pelham and his followers resigned George commissioned Granville to form an adminis-(1746).tration. Granville attempted to do so, but failed. The King had then no choice but to allow the Pelhams to return to office along with Pitt, at first as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and a few months later as Paymaster of the Forces. Two years previously the old Duchess of Marlborough,1 the bitter enemy of Walpole, had rewarded Pitt with a legacy of £10,000,
- 3. Character of Pitt—Death of the Prince of Wales: 1751.

  —As a statesman, Pitt was distinguished for his hatred of bribery, and his honest disbursement of the public money. As an orator, he was a master of sarcasm, often in a few scorching

Abroad.—In 1747, the office of Stadtholder in the Netherlands, which had been in abeyance since the death of William III. of England, was revived in the person of William-Henry, and was made hereditary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Widow of the great Duke, whom she survived twenty-two years.

words withering up the arguments of his opponents. When he took office he curbed his anti-Hanoverian prejudices, or was discreetly silent about them: and when the Prince of Wales died in 1751, his opposition to the King's policy almost died By the death of Prince Frederick, Prince George of out Wales, the King's grandson, a boy in his thirteenth year, became heir-apparent to the throne. His mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales (Augusta of Saxe-Coburg), was appointed by Parliament guardian of his person, and also Regent of the kingdom in the event of the King's death during the Prince's minority. The Earl of Bute, who had been Frederick's most intimate friend, was now the chief adviser of his widow.

- 4. The New Style: 1752.—The adoption of the Gregorian Calendar 1 in 1752, under the name of New Style, was made to some extent a political question and turned to party purposes. It was found necessary to correct the calendar by dropping eleven days out of the year. There were many people in the country who could not see the necessity of any change; and some were foolish enough to accuse the Ministry of having deprived them of their wages for the days that had been dropped. Some even raised the cry, "Give us back our eleven days."
- 5. Dismissal of Pitt: 1755.—When the death of Pelham (March 1754) broke up the Ministry, his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded him as Prime Minister. Newcastle had difficulty in fixing on a leader in the House of Commons. Pitt and Henry Fox had the best claims. Pitt was objectionable, partly because the King disliked him, and partly because Newcastle feared he might be troublesome. Fox would not take the office unless he had command of the secret service

1 The correction was necessary, because | that, as the error amounts to 8 days in 4 centuries, three out of every four century years should not be leap years-thus, 1800, 1900 are not leap years; 2000 is: 2100, 2200, 2300 are not leap years; 2400 is. Pope Gregory first made the change in Italy in 1582. Russia is the only country in Europe which still adheres to the old style. At the same time the first day of January was reckoned the beginning of the year, instead

the year of the calendar had been reckoned as 365 days 6 hours, whereas the solar year is only 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes 50 seconds. Each year had therefore been reckoned 11 minutes too long. The error, since the Christian era, amounted to 11 days. To make up for this excess, 11 days were dropped out of the year 1752-September 3rd was called September 14th. To prevent further irregularity, it was resolved of March 25.

money—that is, of the bribery fund. Newcastle therefore gave the post to Sir Thomas Robinson, a second-rate politician who had spent many years in the diplomatic service abroad, and who knew nothing of home politics or of the temper of the House of Commons. He was made a Secretary of State, while Pitt retained his former office of Paymaster. Earl Granville, the supporter of George's Hanoverianism, was Lord President of the Council. Pitt and Fox combined to attack and to ridicule Robinson, and at length forced him to resign. Fox withdrew his stipulation as to the secret service money, and became Secretary of State (1755). In the meantime Pitt had quarrelled with Newcastle. Having refused to support the payment of subsidies to foreign states, he was required to resign.

6. The Seven Years' War: 1756.—A new European war, known as the Seven Years' War, opened under the Newcastle administration. Like the War of the Austrian Succession, out of which it grew, and the War of the Spanish Succession at the beginning of the century, its object was to establish a balance of power in Europe-in other words, to prevent any single state, or combination of states, from acquiring a degree of influence that would be injurious to the other states of Europe. The disturbing element in Europe at that time was the ambition of Frederick of Prussia. He had already annexed Silesia, and he had devoted the eight years following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to developing the resources and improving the government of Prussia, and to enlarging and improving his splendid army. Great Britain's part in the strife was dictated solely by George's solicitude for Hanover, combined with resistance to France. Hostilities having broken out between France and Great Britain in North America, George feared that France would attack Hanover. The subsidy treaty with Russia of 1755 (on account of which Pitt left the Ministry) was thrown aside, and a treaty of neutrality was made with Prussia (1756). Prussia was also joined by Brunswick, Hesse, and of course by

Abroad.—In 1755, the great earthquake at Lisbon destroyed 30,000 persons, and laid a great part of the city in ruins.

Hanover. On the other side there was a powerful coalition, including Austria, Russia, France, Saxony, Poland, and Sweden. Frederick knew of the existence of a secret treaty, to which Austria, Russia, and Saxony were parties, for the partition of his kingdom. He therefore attacked Saxony first.

- 7. The Devonshire-Pitt Ministry: 1756-57.—Great Britain's share in the actual fighting was confined almost entirely to North America and India, where disputes had arisen as to the boundary lines of the British and French colonies, and on other In June, however, a French fleet attacked Port Mahon in Minorca, and, after a blockade of two months, the place was forced to surrender. Admiral Byng had been sent out to relieve it: but, thinking his force too weak, he had retreated to Gibraltar, and had left Minorca to its fate. These events excited popular fury against the Ministry. further weakened by the withdrawal of Henry Fox; and then Newcastle resigned (November). A Ministry was formed by the Duke of Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State, leader of the Commons, and virtual Prime Minister. During this Ministry, Byng was tried by court-martial and shot (1757). Pitt spoke out manfully for the admiral, but could not save him. Pitt threw himself with great energy into the prosecution of the war in the colonies. He also attended to the national defences. Newcastle had introduced Hanoverian and Hessian troops to defend Great Britain—an idea which was hateful to the people. Pitt sent the German soldiers home, and passed a Bill for the establishment of a national militia. By this means disaffected Highlanders were converted into loyal defenders of the Crown.
- 8. The Newcastle-Pitt Ministry: 1757.—After Pitt had held the seals for only five months, he was dismissed at the instigation of the Duke of Cumberland (April). Devonshire was too weak to go on without him. Newcastle tried to form a Ministry without Pitt, and failed. So great a cry of indignation arose

Ireland.—In 1757, the Duke of Bedford, the Lord-Lieutenant, obtained from the British Government a grant of £20,000 to relieve the distress in Ireland caused by scarcity of food.

in the country that the King was compelled to recall the popular favourite (June). Newcastle was nominal Prime Minister, but Pitt was really the head of the Government. The strength of his position lay in his having the commons at his back—not the House of Commons, but the great and growing middle-class, the tradesmen, merchants, and manufacturers, on whom the wealth of the country now mainly depended. It was as the head and representative man of that class that he was called the "Great Commoner." As Foreign Secretary, Pitt undertook the direction of the war. Then followed that remarkable series of successes which made Great Britain supreme in both hemispheres.

- 9. The Struggle in India.—On the peninsula of Hindustan there were trading colonies of British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. Of these the British settlements were the chief. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, the central station of the French, formed the gigantic project of conquering all India for France; and resolutely set himself, with the aid of native princes, to uproot the British settlements. Holding Madras, which had been lately captured by the French, he soon overran the whole Carnatic. Though Madras had been restored to Great Britain by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), the rivalry between the British and the French in India had continued, and soon led to open war. The contest was for the possession of the vast Mogul Empire. The two powers were brought into collision by a disputed succession in Southern India. For the office of Nabob of Arcot there were two rivals, one of whom was favoured by the British, and the other by the French. 1751, Mahommed Ali, whom the British supported, took refuge, with a few followers, in Trichinopoli, where he was besieged by his rival Chunda Sahib and the French. It was necessary that Trichinopoli should be relieved if the British were to maintain their position at Madras.
- 10. Robert Clive—Siege of Arcot: 1751.—In this emergency the genius of Robert Clive<sup>1</sup> first showed itself. In 1743, he had gone to India and had entered the Civil Service. Three years

<sup>1</sup> Read Macaulay's Essay on "Clive."

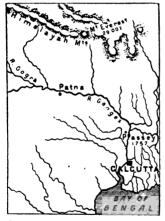
later, having tired of desk-work, he obtained a commission in the army. He was now twenty-five years of age, and had the rank of captain. He suggested to the authorities of Madras that if an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic and the chief residence of the Nabob, the siege of Trichinopoli would be raised. The plan was approved, and Clive himself was intrusted with the execution of it. marched to Arcot at the head of 500 men, of whom 200 were British soldiers, the rest being Sepoys or native Indians. As soon as he appeared, the garrison fled in panic, and the British took possession of the fort without a struggle. Then followed the event on which Clive had calculated. The bulk of the army besieging Trichinopoli was detached to recover Arcot. Clive's little garrison of 500 was soon besieged by an army of 10.000 men, including a small French contingent. After the siege had lasted fifty days, a determined effort was made to storm the fort. The attack was repulsed with extraordinary valour, skill, and energy, Clive himself helping to work the guns: and then the enemy retired. Arcot was saved. Trichinopoli was relieved; and by the seizure of Fort St. David, near Madras, the British obtained complete command of the Carnatic.

11. The Black Hole of Calcutta: 1756.—The conquest of Bengal was Clive's most remarkable achievement. Surajah-Dowlah, the boyish Nabob of Bengal, attacked the English settlements by the Ganges in 1756. Fort William, abandoned by its governor and the commander of the troops in garrison, speedily became his prey (June 19, 1756). The event which has made the Black Hole of Calcutta tragic in the annals of the East then occurred. One hundred and forty-six English prisoners were packed into a chamber twenty feet square, with only two little gratings to admit the air. Next morning twenty-three ghastly figures staggered, or were lifted, barely living, from the fetid den. All the rest had died. Clive

Ireland.—In 1757, the rebels, called Whiteboys (because they wore white shirts over their clothes), first appeared in the south. As Roman Catholics, the Whiteboys objected to the tithes levied for the Church of England clergy. As poor men, they objected to the demands of the Roman Catholic clergy.

hastened northward to avenge this barbarous cruelty. Having landed at Fultah in December, he captured the fortress of Budge-budge, ten miles below Calcutta, and then forced his way through an intervening army to that town. The fort of Hugli also fell. Early in 1757, Surajah-Dowlah made a determined attack on Calcutta with 40,000 men. Clive had only 2,400 men, most of them Sepoys. Yet he kept the Nabob at bay, and forced him to come to terms. Clive then turned upon the French settlement of Chandernagore, which he took in May.

12. Battle of Plassey: 1757.—Meer Jaffier, the Nabob's



Vizier or Prime Minister, was the most prominent in the band of traitors around the Nabob. On his aid or his opposition hinged the success of an expedition led by Clive, which left Chandernagore on the 13th of June 1757. When the little army, amounting in all to only 3,000 men, and containing scarcely 1.000 British troops, approached the village of Plassey,4 Clive saw huge masses of horse and foot, to the number of fully 50,000 men, encamped among the trees! Un-

dismayed by the fire of fifty cannons, the British, protected by a wood and a steep bank, replied briskly with their field-pieces.

The action, beginning at six in the morning, was confined to a cannonade all day (June 23). Clive, whose sleep the night before had been disturbed by the drums and cymbals in the native camp, snatched an hour's rest even in the midst of the roar of cannon. The British fire proved galling and destructive to the Nabob's army, many men and some officers falling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fultah, 20 miles south-west of Calcutta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hugli, 27 miles north of Calcutta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chandernagore, 16 miles north-west of Calcutta.

<sup>\*</sup> Plassey, 90 miles north of Calcutta.

under it. Towards evening, the force of Meer Jaffier began to move toward the British lines, evidently with no hostile intention. Clive, seeing his opportunity, hurled his whole force upon the camp, and swept the vast mob in rout before him. The Nabob headed the flight on a swift camel. When Clive came to count his loss, he found that only twenty white men and about fifty Sepoys had perished in the fight that secured for England the Empire of India. In 1758, the directors of the East India Company appointed Clive the first Governor of Bengal.

## CHAPTER XIV.—THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

1. Progress of the War: 1757-58.—The war in Europe seemed at first full of blunders. At Hastenbeck, Cumberland was forced into a corner by the able strategy of his French adversary, and he surrendered at Klosterseven. George felt his son's disgrace very keenly. The Duke at once resigned all his military offices and retired into private life, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was appointed Commander of the British and Hanoverian forces. A blunder also marked the opening of the war in 1758. Admiral Howe led to the coast of France a great fleet, which spent almost the whole season in attempts on St. Malo and the capture of a few brass cannon at Cherbourg. Across the Atlantic, however, some French islands in the West Indies-Guadeloupe among them-were taken. Even on the African coast victory crowned the British arms at Goree and the forts by the Senegal. Hanover, too, was saved by Prince Ferdinand, who drove the French over the Rhine and defeated them at Crefeld.<sup>2</sup> In this year an annual subsidy of £670,000 began to be paid by the British Government to Prussia in aid of her war expenses. Pitt had left office three years previously, rather than agree to the payment of subsidies to foreign allies. Now he was constrained to adopt the foreign policy which, when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hastenbeck, 22 miles south-west of Hanover, near Hameln. Klosterseven, 70 miles north-west of Hanover.

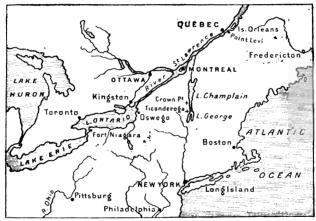
it was pursued by Carteret and by Pelham, he had vehemently opposed.

- 2. Minden and Quiberon: 1759.—Great but costly glory covered the year 1759. First in order of time came the Battle of Minden, won by Prince Ferdinand over the French, then again threatening Hanover. From dawn to noon—July 31—the battle raged, British valour contributing much to the defeat of the enemy. On the 18th of August, Admiral Boscawen shattered the Toulon fleet in a naval action off Cape Lagos, in the south of Portugal, as it was trying to effect a union with the Brest squadron under Conflans. Last of all, on November 20, came the daring feat of that night when Sir Edward Hawke, who had been watching the Brest fleet, swooped on Conflans at Quiberon Bay, and with only a dozen ships so battered the French vessels that but a remnant of them found refuge in the neighbouring rivers.
- 3. The Struggle in North America.—In North America the French held Canada, while the British settlers possessed the coast of the territory now called the United States. natural boundary between the settlements was formed by the St. Lawrence and its lakes. But the Marquis Duquesne, who became governor in 1752, inaugurated a vigorous system of encroachment on the part of the French. Resolved to keep in French hands the traffic between Canada and the Lower Mississippi, he lined the Ohio and the Alleghanies with fortresses. seizing even the unfinished works at the junction of the Ohio and the Monongahēla, and erecting there a stockade called Fort Duquesne. In 1755, a British expedition under General Braddock had advanced to attack Fort Duquesne, but had been routed and scattered by an ambuscade of French and Indians near the Monongahēla. The preservation of the defeated army was due to the coolness and skill of a young Virginian colonel, named George Washington, to be heard of again by-and-by. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in the following year imbittered the strife in the colonies. When the Mar-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Minden, a town in Rhenish Prussia, 2 Quiberon Bay, on the south coast of 40 miles west of Hanover. Brittany, dep. Morbihan.

quis Montcalm took the command of the French army, the British were driven southward from the shores of Lake Ontario and Lake George, and affairs bore for them a very gloomy aspect.

4. Campaign of 1759.—Pitt had not long been at the Foreign Office when the clouds began to rise. Fort Duquesne was captured, and its name was changed to Pittsburg. In the same year (1758), Louisburg and Cape Breton were taken. Pitt himself planned the campaign of 1759. While General Amherst was driving the French before him from the forts of Ticonderōga and Crown Point, and General Johnson was investing Fort Niagara, Admiral Saunders's fleet, bearing an army of 8,000



men under General James Wolfe, was on its way from England for Quebec, toward which the other two expeditions were to converge. Wolfe was a young man, but Pitt had himself selected him for this task on account of the proofs of power he had given. Quebec stands on a peninsula formed by the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence Rivers. The lower town is on the beach; the upper town is on the cliffs, which there rise precipitously to a height of two hundred feet. Montcalm occupied Quebec and its approaches with 12,000 men.

5. Early Failure.—Arrived in the St. Lawrence, Wolfe took

post with the main division of his army on the left bank of the Montmorency, on a height overlooking the enemy's intrenchments. On the last day of July, he essayed to attack Montcalm, but was driven back with heavy loss. After a delay of six weeks, Wolfe resolved to try stratagem. Having concentrated the whole of his army, now reduced to 5,000 men, at Point Levi, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, he marched along that bank of the river to a point eight miles above Quebec, where a portion of the fleet was stationed.

6. The Plains of Abraham: 1759.—On September 12th, under cover of night, boats with muffled oars dropped quietly down the stream, bearing the soldiers to a creek above Quebec ever since known as Wolfe's Cove. Wolfe himself was in the foremost boat, and as he sat amid his officers he relieved his excitement by reciting to them Gray's "Elegy." The earnestness with which he pronounced the line,—

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

impressed them deeply; and when he had finished, he said, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather have been the author of that poem than take Quebec to-morrow." A narrow path hidden by trees and shrubs ran tortuously from the beach up the face Swinging themselves up by the of the precipitous rock. branches, holding on by tufts of grass, the agile Highlanders clambered to the top and put to silence a French sentinel whom they found there. Wolfe and his whole army followed almost literally in single file. They were able to haul only one light field-piece up the steep ascent. When day broke, on the morning of the 13th, 4,800 British soldiers were forming in line of battle on the Plains of Abraham overlooking Quebec. The French were completely surprised. Hastily they were roused from their slumbers, and hurried over the bridge of boats across the River Charles. In his precipitation Montcalm threw away the advantage that a superior artillery would have given him. His men, numbering 7,500, were marshalled for battle on a slope on the north-west of the fortress. Wolfe's position was perilous enough. While a superior force faced him,

another French army was advancing from Cap Rouge to attack him in the rear.

7. The Battle: Sept. 13th. — The French advanced with great show and bravery. Strong parties of their skirmishers drove in upon the British main line the light infantry which were posted in front. Wolfe, who was on foot with his Grenadiers, near the centre of the battle, strode along the ranks and counselled his soldiers not to fire until they saw the eves The French skirmishers retired, and with loud shouts the main body advanced. Before their sharp fire the British soldiers fell fast. Wolfe was wounded in the wrist. When within forty yards, the red lines poured forth one simultaneous volley of musketry. It was decisive: the militia fled -the French lines, shattered and reeling, wavered. then gave the word to advance, and as he led the way a shot Almost immediately afterwards he received a struck him. second wound, in the breast, and staggering he fell into the arms of a Grenadier officer, and was borne to the rear.

Montcalm and his officers strove in vain to re-form their lines to withstand the charge of the British. Before their advancing fire, and the rush of the Highlanders with their keen claymores, the French soldiers broke into irretrievable flight, and sought safety under the cannon of the ramparts. Montcalm fell mortally wounded, and was borne into Quebec. At that moment the Grenadier officer who knelt beside Wolfe and supported him, called out, "See, they run!"—"Who run!" asked Wolfe.—"The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere."—"Now, God be praised; I die happy." Montcalm died the next morning, consoled, as a soldier, by the fact that the French flag still waved over Quebec. In the short and sharp battle of "the Plains" the British lost 55 killed and 607 wounded; the French 1,500 in all.

8. Conquest of Canada: 1760.—Quebec capitulated on the 18th of September. The British in their turn were besieged in the town for several months; but on the approach of a relieving fleet in May following, the siege was raised. Three divisions of the British army then began slowly to converge

on Montreal, the only remaining stronghold of the French in Canada—one from Quebec, another from Lake Ontario, and a third from Lake Champlain. They all reached the island of Montreal on the same day—the 8th of September 1760. Vaudreuil, the French Governor, finding himself hemmed in by 16,000 troops, at once surrendered, and signed a deed transferring Canada to Great Britain.

- 9. The War in Europe: 1759-60.—During these years, Frederick of Prussia had been contending against almost overwhelming difficulties with that spirit, resource, and pertinacity that earned for him the title of Frederick the Great. at Kunersdorf in Brandenburg, the Russians drove him from the field with the loss of 18,000 men. Dresden was taken by the Austrians: while, in the passes of Bohemia, an army of 20.000 Prussians was forced to surrender to the French In the following year, though he had to Marshal Daun. abandon the siege of Dresden, after inflicting almost irreparable damage on the city, he gained two great victories. At Liegnitz, in Silesia, he scattered the Austrians, and prevented their junction with the Russian army. At Torgau, on the Elbe, in Prussia, he stormed the intrenched camp of Marshal Daun and drove its defenders across the river. All Saxonv. except Dresden, then fell into Frederick's hands.
- 10. British Supremacy in India: 1760.—When ill-health compelled Clive to leave India for England in 1760, that which had been merely a group of commercial settlements on his arrival there had become virtually an empire. Not long after his departure, Colonel Eyre Coote gained a decisive victory over the French General Lally at Wandiwash, near Arcot. This secured Madras, and indeed the whole of the Carnatic, for Pondicherry surrendered a few months later. Then was the

Ireland.—In 1759, three French squadrons attempted the invasion of Ireland. The first, under De la Luc, was scattered by Boscawen. The second, under Conflans, was defeated by Sir Edward Hawke. The third, under Thurot, landed at Carrickfergus, and the garrison surrendered. On the return of Conflans' squadron to France, it was captured by Commodore Elliot, and Conflans was killed.

overthrow of the French in India complete, and the supremacy of Great Britain was assured.

- 11. Death and Character of George II.: 1760.—On the 25th of October 1760, George II. died suddenly of heart disease in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His successor was his grandson, a young man in his twenty-third year. George II. was a German in character and in feeling. When it has been said that he possessed a strong sense of justice and personal courage, and that he was a good business man, clear-headed and methodical, he has received nearly all the praise he deserves. Lord Stanhope said of him that, "Avarice, the most unprincely of all passions, sat enshrined in the inmost recesses of his bosom." He resembled his father in his strong partiality for Hanover. Indeed it was in the interest of Hanover mainly that Great Britain was dragged into the Seven Years' War.
- 12. The Constitution.—The Parliaments were called and held their sessions with great regularity in this reign. George II. was on the whole loyal to the Constitution as it was then established. He invaded no national right, and he did not press the royal prerogative unduly. In the early part of his reign he showed a disposition to choose his ministers without reference to the will of Parliament. He wished to make Sir Spencer Compton Prime Minister in place of Walpole; but Queen Caroline convinced him of the absurdity of the selection. In 1746, he refused to admit Pitt to office in the Pelham Ministry; but when Pelham resigned, and Granville failed to form an administration, he gave way. Even as late as in 1757, George dismissed Pitt from office; but the popular clamour was so great that he had again to yield. These inci dents showed that the principle had been fully established that ministers hold their office from Parliament.

The chief measure affecting the Constitution passed during the reign was the *Place Bill*, which restricted the number of offices in the State which could be held in conjunction with a seat in Parliament (1742). In 1728, and again in 1738, the publication of the debates in Parliament was declared to be a breach of privilege.

#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- Sanction guaranteed by Great Britain.
- 1733. Walpole's Excise Bill introduced and withdrawn.
- 1736. The Porteous Riot in Edinburgh.
- 1737. Death of Queen Caroline 1739. War with Spain-Right of search.
- 1740. War of the Austrian Succession
- 1742. Resignation of Walpole-Lord Wilmington Prime Minister-The "Place Bill" passed.
- 1743. British victory at Dettingen-Henry Pelham Prime Minister.
- 1744. Failure of French expedition-War declared against France-The "Broad Bottom" Ministry.
- 1745. British defeat at Fontenoy-Jacobite rebellion-Battle of Prestonpans - March to Derby.
- 1746. Battle of Falkirk-Pitt in office-Battle of 1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. [Culloden.

- 1731. Second Treaty of Vienna -- Pragmatic : 1751. Clive's capture of Arcot-Death of Frederick Prince of Wales.
  - 1752. Reform of the Calendar.
  - 1754. War with the French in North America-Death of Pelham-Newcastle Prime Minister. 1755. Pitt dismissed.
  - 1756. The Seven Years' War-Alliance of Great Britain and Prussia-War with France-Resignation of Newcastle - The Devonshire-Pitt Ministry-The Black Hole of Calcutta.
  - 1757. Execution of Byng-Pitt dismissed-Newcastle-Pitt Ministry-Surrender of Cumberland at Klosterseven-Clive's victory at Plassey.
  - 1758. Capture of Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg)-Louisburg and Cape Breton taken
  - 1759. British victory at Minden-Capture of Quebec-Victory at Quiberon.
  - 1760. British victory at Wandiwash-Death of George II

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

- Viscount Bolingbroke (Henry St. John), withdrew to France, 1735, returned to England, 1742; devoted himself to philosophy and literature; died, 1751.
- Admiral John Byng, fourth son of Lord Torrington, sent with a fleet to relieve Minorca, 1756; condemned and shot, 1757.
- Lord Carteret, Secretary of State, 1727; joined the Opposition, 1731; motion to dismiss Walpole defeated, 1741; Secretary of State and virtual Prime Minister, 1742; not appointed to succeed Wilmington, 1743; Earl Granville, 1744; resignation, 1744; failed to form a Ministry, 1746; Lord President, 1751-63; died, 1763.
- Robert Clive (afterwards Lord Clive), a writer in the Indian service, 1743; entered the army, 1747; captured and defended Arcot, 1751; returned to England, 1753-55; victory at Plassey, 1757; Governor of Bengal, 1758; returned to England, 1760.
- Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker, 1714-27; proposed as Prime Minister, 1727; Baron Wilmington, 1728: President of the Council, 1730; Prime Minister and Earl of Wilmington, 1742; died, 1743
- Duke of Cumberland (William Augustus), second son of George II., wounded at Dettingen, 1743; Commander-in-Chief of the Allies in Flanders, defeated at Fontency, 1745, sent against Prince Charles-Edward, 1745; Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, 1746; victory at Culloden, 1746; took the command in Hanover, 1757; defeated at Hastenbeck; capitulated at Klosterseven, 1757: resigned his appointments, and retired into private life
- Henry Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), a Commissioner of the Treasury, 1743; Secretary

- at War, 1746; Secretary of State and leader of the Commons, 1755; resigned, 1756; Paymaster of the Porces, 1757.
- Duke of Newcastle (Thomas Pelham), Secretary of State, 1744; Prime Minister, 1754-56; again, with Pitt, 1757-62.
- Henry Pelham, Secretary at War, 1727; Paymaster of the Forces, 1730; led the attack on Walpole, 1742; Prime Minister, 1743; died, 1754.
- William Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham), M.P. for Old Sarum, 1735; opposed Walpole, 1736; dismissed from the army, 1737; left out of Wilmington's Ministry, 1742 : left. out of Pelham's Ministry by George's desire, 1743; bequest of £10,000 from Duchess of Marlborough, 1744; Paymaster of the Forces, 1746; opposed foreign subsidies, and was dismissed, 1755; Secretary of State, with Devonshire, 1756; dismissed by the King, 1757; Secretary of State, with Newcastle, 1757.
- William Pultency, leader of the Opposition, 1727; Earl of Bath, 1742; failed with Granville to form a Ministry, 1746; died, 1764.
- Samuel Sandys, attacked Walpole, 1741; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1742-43; made a Peer, 1744.
- Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, 1727; resigned, 1730; died, 1738.
- Sir Robert Walpole, continued Prime Minister. 1727; resignation, 1742; Earl of Orford, 1742; died, 1745.
- General James Wolfe, entered the army at fourteen, 1740; present at Dettingen, 1743; at Fontency, 1745; in expedition against Rochefort, and attracted Pitt's notice, 1757; at siege of Louisburg, 1758; commanded at Quebec, and killed, 1759.

# CHAPTER XV.—STATE OF SOCIETY—THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- 1. Streets and Roads.—There were numerous hackney-coaches in London in the eighteenth century, but the sedan-chair was the most fashionable mode of conveyance in the city. watermen also rowed passengers from stair to stair in their wherries. At night the streets were badly lighted, with oillamps; and it was customary for those who walked abroad after dark to hire link-boys to carry torches before them in order to show the way. These boys, however, were often the accomplices of the thieves who abounded in London. country roads were still infested with highwaymen. Thev were often in league with the inn-keepers on the highway, who gave them information as to the circumstances of trav-As a coach was driven along a lonely road, it might be stopped by a smartly-dressed highwayman, well horsed and closely masked, who would hold a pistol to the coachman's head. and compel the passengers to yield their purses and jewelry.
- 2. Night-plagues of London.—Another plague of the streets by night consisted in the rioting of gangs of dissolute young men, who paraded the chief thoroughfares. The most notorious belonged to a club called the Mohocks—after the Mohawk Indians. One of their favourite amusements consisted in rolling women down a hill in hogsheads. Another was that called "sweating" their victim, which consisted in surrounding him with drawn swords, and pricking him with the points till he sank from exhaustion and loss of blood. A Royal Proclamation was issued against them in 1712, and the Government offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of any one of these ruffians.
- 3. Coffee-houses and Clubs.—The coffee-house was the great resort of the day, where men gathered to discuss politics and to collect or to diffuse gossip. Some houses had a political complexion, the Cocoa-Tree being the most celebrated Tory house, and the St. James's, that most frequented by Whigs. The

coffee-house thus served the same purpose as the modern club. The latter, however, is an invention of the nineteenth century. There were clubs, indeed, in the eighteenth century, as we know from the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*; but a club then meant a company of men who met regularly on certain evenings in a tavern for supper and conversation.

- 4. Ladies' Dress.—The most remarkable part of the ladies' dress of the period was the hoop, a kind of cage on which the flowered brocade of the skirt was extended to an enormous size. Every lady also carried a fan, of which she made constant use, furling, opening, fluttering it ceaselessly. The face was spotted with black patches, which at one time had a political significance—Tory ladies wearing the spots on the left temple, and Whigs on the right. In reference to this practice, Goldsmith, in "The Citizen of the World," makes his Chinaman propose to send home "a map of an English face patched according to the prevailing fashion."
- 5. Dress of Gentlemen.—The dress worn by gentlemen was stiff and artificial. A huge periwig, white being most prized, flowed with bushy curls over the shoulders, at the beginning of the period. This gave way to powdered hair, tied behind in an enormous queue. The coat was of claret velvet, or sky-blue silk, heavily bordered with gold or silver lace; the vest of flowered silk extended its flaps half-way to the knee; the three-cornered hat was carried under the left arm, as a matter of form; knee-breeches, silk stockings, and diamond-buckled shoes completed the costume.
- 6. Promenades.—The usual dinner-hour was between two and five. After that meal the favourite promenades—St. James's Mall, Spring Gardens (afterwards Vauxhall), and the Mulberry Garden (where Buckingham Palace stands now)—began to fill, and fashionable life was in full flood at about seven. Vizards or masks of black velvet were commonly worn; and it was customary to speak to any one, no ceremony of introduction being necessary.
- 7. Evening Parties.—At the evening parties, which were called *ridottos* or *routs*, gambling was practised to a shameful

- extent. It was indeed the great vice of the age. Gentlemen gambled at their clubs, ladies in their boudoirs; and it was no uncommon thing for one to lose or to win thousands of pounds in a single night at cards or at dice. Duels frequently resulted from these assemblies: the usual places for deciding these "affairs of honour" were Hyde Park Ring, and the grassy space behind Montague House.
- 8. The Theatre.—The theatre began to fill at four. The actors were the dress of their own time, and not the costume suitable to the parts they acted. A prominent figure in the pit was the beau, who was ambitious of being considered a dramatic critic. The gallery was filled with the footmen of the persons of quality who sat in the boxes. Drury Lane was then the principal theatre in London.
- 9. Church and Education.—The demeanour of people in church contrasted strongly with the decorous behaviour now usual. People went there to stare about them, and to greet their friends. When the preacher concluded an eloquent passage, or made an apt political allusion, a hum of approval might be heard; and it sometimes happened that a number of noisy fellows debated points in theology started by the preacher so loudly as to disturb the service. Very different, however, was the demeanour of the large congregations that listened eagerly to the appeals of Wesley and the thrilling eloquence of Whitfield.—Education was at a very low ebb. The only schools were the grammar-schools of the sixteenth century. The rural population was allowed to grow up in utter ignorance.
- 10. Provincial Resorts.—Bath, Epsom, and Tunbridge Wells were the principal provincial places of resort. There all the follies of metropolitan life were acted over again, with the difference of rural surroundings. The constant embroilments with France and Spain, coupled with the insecurity of travel, prevented British subjects from visiting the Continent, except on rare occasions.
- 11. Literature.—Our literary survey goes back to the Revolution. Dryden's best work was done before that, but he continued to write till the very close of the seventeenth century,

with which his life also closed. Congreve and Farquhar, whose plays reflect the sparkling wit and loose morality of the Restoration, did not begin to write till the reign of William and Mary, and their activity extended into the reign of Anne. Almost parallel with them, though on a much loftier level, ran the career of John Locke, the philosopher, whose powerful pleas for "Toleration" were the first literary fruits of the Revolution. The reign of Anne derived a brilliancy all its own from the prose writings of Addison, Steele, Swift, and Defoe. Pope and Prior were the leading poets. The literary men of the time engaged freely in political controversy, the pamphlet being the usual form of publication. The position of these men, however, was painfully dependent. They looked for their reward in appointments in Government offices, or in promotion in the Church. They were obliged to degrade their calling by writing dedications of fulsome praise, and by cringing to ministers of State, and even to their valets.

Still lower was the position of the denizens of Grub Street—a locality where the most hapless and improvident literary men herded together, eking out a scanty livelihood by compiling and drudging for booksellers. There was but a slight demand for books. Even the circulating library had not yet come into existence, a common method of reading a new book being to read it in a bookseller's shop, standing at the counter for an hour or more day after day.

In the time of the first two Georges, literature gradually assumed a more independent position. Then Pope and Defoe produced their best work. Allan Ramsay and James Thomson heralded the natural school of poetry. The fashionable drama came to an end with the comedies of Colley Cibber and John Gay. The modern novel took its rise in the works of Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett. Samuel Johnson established his reputation as a satirist and a moralist in the reign of George II., though he was still drudging for the booksellers. The modern school of picturesque history had a sure foundation laid for it in Hume's "History of England," and Robertson's "History of Scotland."

## REIGN OF GEORGE III. (HANOVER). 1760-1820.

# CHAPTER XVI.—THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

1. Accession of George III.: 1760.—George II. was succeeded by his grandson, George III.,1 then in his twentysecond year. He ascended a glorious throne, for the energy and foresight of Pitt had made Great Britain the first nation in Like his grandfather and his great-grandfather, the world. George came to the throne with the full intention of being an actual king-of ruling as well as reigning. He was in a better position than they for doing so, as he was an Englishman by education and by sympathy. His leanings were toward the Tories, and he was specially jealous of the power of the great Whig lords. His desire was to get rid of the system of party government, and to revert to the old plan, under which the King chose his ministers individually. In this the Tories heartily supported him. He was shrewd enough to see, however, that he could not carry out his plan in defiance of the House of Commons; but he did not despair of being able to secure the House of Commons, as Walpole and the Pelhams had done, by a free use of the Secret Service money. Though the system of party government had been established, the House of Commons was too corrupt to give it fair-play. Pitt still remained in power, but it ere long became evident that the young King was entirely under the influence of the Earl of Bute, his former tutor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George III., son of Frederick, Prince | Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Issue, of Wales, and Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, and grandson of George II. Married, 1761, years.

- 2. Disunion in the Ministry: 1761.—Holderness, one of the Secretaries of State, was ousted in order to give Bute a seat in the Cabinet, and he accepted it with no friendly intention. There were already elements of disunion there, which made his task easy. It included Pitt and George Grenville, who, although brothers-in-law, had come to look on public questions with very different eyes. As it has been well put, in relation to the war, "Pitt could see nothing but the trophies; Grenville could see nothing but the bill." As the breach between them widened, Bute's influence grew stronger. Henry Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the first to resign. Then arose the question of a new war, which led to the resignation of Pitt, and also of Earl Temple, Grenville's brother.
- 3. Resignation of Pitt: 1761.—That remarkable secret treaty, the Family Compact,2 made by the Bourbon monarchs of France, Spain, and Naples, had, in its drift at least, become known to Pitt. Foreseeing an inevitable war, he boldly proposed to strike the first blow against the colonies of Spain. selecting Havana, Panama, and Manilla as the fittest centres of attack. The King, influenced by Bute, refused to follow his advice; and then (October 6) Pitt resigned. The young King spoke so kindly to him in the audience-chamber that Pitt's eves filled with tears. The statesman would receive nothing for himself, but gladly accepted a peerage for his wife, with a pension of £3,000 a-year for three lives. The people took a public opportunity of showing their feeling in the matter. Scarcely casting a look at George and his young bride, as they went in state to dine at Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day, they overwhelmed the Great Commoner with acclamations. Bute could find safety only by surrounding his coach with a band of pugilists.
- 4. War with Spain and France: 1762-63.—As Pitt had foretold, Spain declared war in terms of the Family Compact.

<sup>1</sup> Brothers-in-law. Pitt's wife was Hester | III. of Spain was grandson of Philip V.,

was great-grandson of Louis XIV. Charles | Spain.

who was grandson of Louis XIV. Ferdi-<sup>2</sup> Family Compact. Louis XV. of France | nand of Naples was son of Charles III. of

Scarcely had that step been taken, when Newcastle resigned, driven from office by Bute and his followers, who, having the ear of the King, acted without even consulting the Prime Minister. Bute became First Lord of the Treasury, and George Grenville was a Secretary of State. Earl Granville and Henry Fox were included in the Tory Ministry. The war was short, but the British arms had many brilliant successes, owing chiefly to the foresight of Pitt. Great Britain gained Havana and the Philippine Islands from Spain, and stripped France of the finest of her West India Islands. Soon both these countries sought peace. Bute was so alarmed by the increase of the National Debt that he vielded to their desire, and the Treaty of Paris was concluded between Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal in February 1763. It confirmed the cession to Britain of Canada by France, and of Florida by Spain. Havana and the Philippines were restored to the latter. The Seven Years' War was closed in November by the Treaty of Hubertsburg, which left Frederick of Prussia in possession of Silesia.

5. The Triumvirate: 1763.—Pitt denounced the Peace of Paris as unworthy of England. Though he was beaten in the House of Commons, both the Peace and the Ministry became unpopular in the country. Bute was branded with the name of favourite; he was hissed and pelted in the streets of London. Alarmed by the rising tide of popular dislike, he resigned (April). The Hon. George Grenville was selected as his successor, because, though a Whig, he had been a member of Bute's Ministry. Grenville combined the office of First Lord of the Treasury with that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. With him were associated as Secretaries of State the Earl of Halifax (George Montague Dunk) and the Earl of Egremont. The Ministry, which was called the "Triumvirate," was a most aristocratic

Abroad.—In 1762, Catherine II. of Russia began to reign, her husband, Peter III., having been deposed and murdered. She carried out the aggressive policy of Peter the Great and his successor Catherine I., and extended the influence and increased the territory of Russia on every side. She died in 1796, after having taken an active part in the successive partitions of Poland.

administration, Grenville being the only Cabinet minister in the House of Commons. Henry Fox (now Lord Holland) was Paymaster of the Forces—a post which suited him well, as it enabled him to enrich himself.

- 6. Wilkes and "The North Briton:" 1763-64.-In his speech in closing the session of Parliament (March 1763), the King had declared the Peace of Paris to have been both honourable and beneficial. Thereupon The North Briton, a weekly paper edited by John Wilkes, the member for Aylesbury, in its famous No. 45, charged the King with uttering a lie from the throne. Wilkes was at once arrested on a general warrant—that is, a warrant which did not specify the names of the accused—issued against the "authors, printers, and publishers." By virtue of his privilege as a member of Parliament, he was liberated, and obtained £1,000 damages from the Under-Secretary of State. Chief-Justice Pratt, moreover, declared general warrants illegal. Notwithstanding this, Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons (January 1764). A month later, he was convicted in the Court of King's Bench both of libel and of having published an obscene poem; but he escaped to France, and was subsequently outlawed.
- 7. The American Stamp Act: 1764-65.—Meanwhile events had occurred which led to the great American War. Grenville, desirous to meet the cost of the last war, passed in 1764 an Act imposing customs duties on the American colonies. In the following year, he passed a Stamp Act, which imposed a charge levied by means of a Government stamp on every contract, will, or other legal instrument used in America. The Colonists—most of whom were descendants of those Puritans who had beheaded Charles I. and had reared the Commonwealth—firmly replied, that since they had no share in the government of the empire, no representatives in the British Parliament,

Ireland.—In 1762, the Whiteboys were suppressed, and their leader was executed.

In 1763, the rising of the Oak Boys occurred in the south of Ireland. They were oak leaves in their hats. Their complaint was that the burden of maintaining the highways fell entirely on the tenants.

they would pay no taxes to Great Britain and would buy no stamped paper. At the same time they offered to vote voluntary contributions to the imperial treasury.

- 8. The Rockingham Ministry: 1765.—About this time King George's health gave way, and he began to show signs of that mental weakness which afflicted him in his later years. It became necessary for Parliament to provide against his possible incapacity by appointing a Regent. In the Regency Bill prepared by the Ministry, the name of the King's mother was omitted. The House of Commons, in which the "King's friends"—that is, the men in the King's pay—were gaining influence, ordered the name of the Princess to be inserted in the Bill, in defiance of the ministers. A sharp quarrel ensued between the King and Grenville, and the latter resigned. The King made overtures to Pitt, but was unable to meet all Pitt's conditions. He then induced the Marquis of Rockingham, the head of the main section of the Whigs, to form a Ministry, in which most of the offices were held by the Whig lords-the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Granby, the Earl of Winchelsea, and others (July).
- 9. Repeal of the Stamp Act: 1766.—Early in the following year the Rockingham Ministry carried through Parliament a Declaratory Act, affirming the authority of the Imperial Parliament over the Colonies in respect both of legislation and of taxation. That was followed by the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act, with the strong approval of Pitt. Parliament thus asserted its right to tax the Colonies, but admitted that that particular tax was not expedient. This was a practical triumph for the Colonists, though the Parliament claimed a theoretical supremacy. The House of Commons, under the direction of this Ministry, passed a resolution declaring general warrants

Abroad.—In 1766, the French acquired the Duchy of Lothringen (Lorraine) on the death of Stanislaus (of Poland), and, retaining Elsass (Alsace), thus extended their territory to the Rhine. In return for resigning the Polish crown in 1735, Stanislaus had received Lorraine, which was to pass, at his death, to his son-in-law, Louis XV. of France. At the same time Francis, Duke of Lorraine (who, as the husband of Maria-Theresa, had become Emperor in 1745), received Tuscany in exchange.

(see page 116) to be illegal. But George soon grew tired of Rockingham and the Old Whigs, and dismissed them from office.

- 10. The Grafton-Chatham Ministry: 1766. Though Pitt had supported Rockingham's policy, he had steadily refused to join his Ministry. Adhering to the doctrine on which his own power in office had rested—that sound government must be founded on the support of the people—he detested the custom which practically placed the control of the House of Commons in the hands of a few great land-owners. There were two other sections of the Whigs, which it was equally impossible for Pitt to join. These were the Duke of Bedford's friends, who were the most venal of all political parties, and the Grenvilles, his brothers-in-law, with whom he had quarrelled some years previously. (See page 114.) Pitt now agreed to form a government along with the Duke of Grafton, a young Whig peer who had broken off from Bute's Ministry in 1763. Grafton was First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt, who became Earl of Chatham, took, the office of Lord Privy Seal, but was really Prime Minister. Charles Townshend (grandson of Walpole's rival) was Chancellor of the Exchequer. By-and-by, Chatham fell into ill-health, accompanied with mental prostration, and was hardly accessible even to his colleagues. Grafton then acted as head of the Government.
- 11. New American Import Duties: 1767.—While Chatham was thus under eclipse, Townshend, regardless of the state of feeling in the Colonies, induced Parliament in 1767 to pass an Act imposing import duties in America on certain articles—tea, lead, glass, paper, and painters' colours. This produced a fresh outburst of discontent among the Colonists. Defence associations were formed, and intercolonial congresses were held. The Government, however, held its ground, forgetful of the fact that the peaceful relations of the mother-country and her colonies were being put in jeopardy for the sake of a paltry revenue of £40,000 a-year. In the midst of the controversy Townshend died, and, after a brief interval, Lord North succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

12. Wilkes and "Junius:" 1768-74.—At the general election of 1768, Wilkes, who had returned from France, stood for the City of London, and was at the bottom of the poll. He was, however, elected for Middlesex by a large majority. The House of Commons then refused to admit him; and though his sentence of outlawry was reversed, he was sent to prison for two years. There were great riots in his favour; the mob rallied to the cry, "Wilkes and liberty;" pictures and busts of him were sold everywhere. The more orderly citizens held "public meetings." 1 The King was petitioned to dissolve the Parliament, on the ground that the House of Commons had ceased to represent the people. Not only the Prime Minister (the Duke of Grafton) but also the King was assailed in the famous "Letters of Junius" with a freedom of invective previously unknown. For a virulent letter addressed to the King, Woodfall, the publisher, was tried for libel, and was practically acquitted, the verdict of the jury being, "Guilty of publishing only" (1770). The verdict showed that the freedom of the press had been completely established. In the following year the House of Commons tried to prevent the publication of its debates, but the right of the printers was vindicated, chiefly through the efforts of Woodfall and Wilkes (1771). Four times did the men of Middlesex return Wilkes to Parliament, and as often did the House of Commons reject him. But in the end he triumphed. Having been made Lord Mayor of London, he was once more returned for Middlesex, and was allowed to take his seat (1774).

Abroad.—In 1768, the island of Corsica was annexed to France. Corsica previously belonged to Genoa; but the natives had rebelled against the Genoese. The latter called in the aid of the French, and gave up their rights to them. The French then conquered the island for themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Public meetings. The first regularly | 21, 1769, and continued till 1772. It is constituted public meeting to discuss public measures is said to have been that held by the electors of Westminster, in West-minster Hall, on 29th August 1769, to adopt a petition for redress of grievances. <sup>2</sup> Letters of Junius. They began to ap-

still uncertain who was the writer of them; but the name supported by the best evidence and the highest authorities is that of Sir Philip Francis, then an official in the War Office, and afterwards a member of Council in Bengal. He assisted at the trial pear in The Public Advertiser on January of Warren Hastings, and died in 1818.

13. Lord North's Ministry: 1770.—Important ministerial changes had in the meantime occurred. In 1768 Lord Chatham resigned the Privy Seal. He had sufficiently recovered from his physical and mental prostration to perceive his unfitness for active service in the battle-field of Parliament. Two years later, the Duke of Grafton, finding himself in a minority in the Cabinet, resigned the post of First Lord of the Treasury. Even then Chatham would have returned to office if he could have effected a coalition with the Bedford Whigs. But in that he failed, and the King intrusted the government to Lord North, a Tory Prime Minister, under whom chiefly the American War was conducted (1770).



14. Boston Harbour: 1773.—All the American import duties were withdrawn in 1770, with the exception of that on tea; but the resistance of the Colonies, among which Massachusetts took the lead, continued with unabated force. There were

Ireland.—In 1772, desperate outrages were committed by evicted tenants, who called themselves *Hearts of Steel*.

serious disturbances in Boston and other towns. Nevertheless, the Ministry insisted on sending out the taxed tea. The crisis came in 1773, when some twenty daring spirits, dressed and painted like Indians, boarded the tea-laden ships which lay in Boston Harbour, and emptied the tea-chests into the sea (December). The British Government then shut up the port of Boston, removed the Custom-house to Salem, and cancelled the charter of Massachusetts. Meanwhile, in London, the famous Dr. Benjamin Franklin strove vainly to bring about a reconciliation.

#### CHAPTER XVII.—AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

1. The Congress of Philadelphia: 1774-75.—Representatives of all the Colonies, except Georgia, met in a Great Congress at Philadelphia in 1774. Like their forefathers of the English Revolution, they prepared a Declaration of Rights, in which they denied the legality of their taxation by the Parliament; they suspended trade with Britain; and they sent an address to the King, in which they asked that the unjust taxes should be removed. The petition was slighted; but wise men shook their heads. Chatham told the Lords that it was folly to force the taxes in the face of a continent in arms. Edmund Burke bade the Commons beware lest they severed those ties of similar privilege and kindred blood, which, light as air though strong as iron, bound the Colonies to the mother-land. Charles James Fox. Lord Holland's second son, who had entered on political life as a follower of Lord North, but had been dismissed from office, turned his unrivalled powers of invective against his former chief. The ministers were deaf to these eloquent

Abroad.—In 1772, the first partition of Poland took place. One-third of Poland was seized, and divided by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Over the remainder the real authority was exercised by a Russian envoy resident at Warsaw.

In 1773, Holstein was finally united to the Danish crown. Catherine of Russia, who had inherited it, ceded it to Denmark.

In 1774, Louis XVI. succeeded to the French throne. His wife was Marie-Antoinette, daughter of Maria-Theresa of Austria.

warnings, and refused to abate their demands by one jot. General Gage, with 5,000 British troops, continued to occupy Boston.

2. Outbreak of Hostilities: 1775.—After the wordy strife had lasted for ten years, actual war began; and it continued with varying success during eight campaigns. The first collision took place in April at Lexington, between Boston and Concord, where a few American riflemen attacked a detachment of British soldiers that was marching to seize some warlike stores. The British succeeded only partially, and were forced to retreat, with a loss of sixty killed and many more wounded. That was the first blood drawn in the strife.



3. Americans on Bunker's Hill: 1775.—In May the American yeomanry, to the number of nearly 20,000, blockaded Boston, where Gage's garrison had been augmented to 10,000 men. The American intrenchments formed a line twenty miles long, south-west of Boston. North of Boston, and separated

Abroad.—In 1774, Russia obtained from Turkey, by the Treaty of Kutschouc Kainardji, the Crimea, and the northern shores of the Black Sea, as far west as the Bûg; the protection of the Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions; and a share in the government of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Roumania). This made Russia the most powerful State in the east of Europe, and a rival of the Western Powers.

from Charlestown by an inlet, are two hills, the higher of which is called Bunker's Hill, and the lower Breed Hill. As these hills completely commanded the city, the Americans resolved to seize and fortify the former. It is said that Gage had resolved to occupy the heights on the night of the 18th June; but Gage was habitually too late. On the evening of the 16th, twelve hundred Americans under General Prescott mustered on Cambridge Common, and marched to the top of the hill without being discovered. Intrenchments were hastily thrown up; and in the morning Gage was astonished to see earth-works and swarms of armed men where, the night before, there had only been untrodden grass.

4. The British Assault: June 17.—Gage determined to carry the works by assault. On the afternoon of the 17th, 3,000 picked men, under Generals Howe and Pigot, left Boston, and were landed on the peninsula. The plan of attack was simple enough. The British were to march straight up the hill and drive the undisciplined Americans away. But the task was not so easy as it seemed. The day was "exceeding hot." The British soldiers were heavily laden with provisions and other equipments to enable them to hold the heights when they had gained them. The hill was steep, the grass was long, the enemy was watchful and resolute. While yet a long way off, the British opened a harmless fire of musketry. There was no reply from the American lines, for the men had been ordered to withhold their fire till the British were close to them, and then to aim low. When within one hundred and fifty yards of the works, the column received a volley so close and deadly as to send its sadly diminished numbers reeling down the hill. Again they advanced almost to the American works, and again they sustained a bloody repulse. Then stripping off their greatcoats, and leaving them with their knapsacks at the hill-foot, they resolved to end the fight with the bayonet. Their ammunition being exhausted, the Americans could give the enemy only a single volley. The British swarmed over the parapet. There was a brief hand-to-hand struggle. Americans fled down the hill, and across the Neck to Cambridge, the British ships raking them with grape-shot as they ran.

- 5. What the Battle proved.—The Colonists had done their work. Victory no doubt remained with the British. Their object had been to carry the American intrenchments, and they had carried them. But much greater than that was the gain of the Americans. They had proved to themselves and to the world that, with the help of some slight field-works, it was possible for undisciplined patriots to meet on equal terms the best troops Great Britain could send against them. Henceforth the success of the Revolution was assured. "Thank God," said Washington, when he heard of the battle; "the liberties of the country are safe."
- 6. George Washington: 1775.—Two days previously, the Congress, having reassembled at Philadelphia, had signed articles of union, and had appointed George Washington Commander-in-chief. He immediately joined the army at Boston. It consisted of men quite undisciplined, wretchedly clothed, and almost without ammunition, but strong in the courage which comes of determination and a good cause. Fortunately they were not yet soldiers enough to know the weakness of their position, and Gage was too dilatory to take advantage of it. In October, Gage was succeeded by General Howe.
- 7. Invasion of Canada: 1775. The second remarkable event of the campaign of 1775 was the fruitless invasion of Canada by the American leaders, Montgomery and Arnold. Thanks to a conciliatory policy toward the Roman Catholics on the part of the Government, Canada had remained loyal. Hence the desire of the Americans to attack Canada. Montreal fell before General Montgomery. Colonel Arnold, marching through the wild backwoods of Maine, joined him before Quebec. But they were beaten back from that fortress, and Montgomery was slain. Meanwhile 17,000 Hessian troops had been called from Germany to aid the British arms. The Royalist forces in America now numbered 55,000 men.
- 8. Declaration of Independence: July 4, 1776.—Early in the second campaign, the cannon of the Americans forced

Howe to evacuate Boston and to sail for Halifax, in Nova Scotia. Then was issued, by the Congress at Philadelphia, that famous and eloquent document called "The Declaration of Independence," drawn up by Thomas Jefferson. After setting forth the usurpations of the British Government, and characterizing King George as a tyrant, it announced that the Thirteen Colonies had ceased to be connected with Great Britain, and had entered on their career as free and independent States. In the field, the British retrieved the disasters of March by the triumphs of August, when General Howe, reinforced by his brother, Lord Howe, seized Long Island, opposite New York. drove Washington from that city, and planted the British flag on its batteries. At home, the Whigs disapproved so strongly of the war policy of the Government that for some time they absented themselves from Parliament, taking this way of disclaiming responsibility for the unnatural conflict.

- 9. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga: 1777.—At the opening of the third campaign, the Americans obtained aid in men and money from France. Of the French officers the most distinguished was the young Marquis de la Fayette.¹ Lord Cornwallis's victory at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine River, and the capture of Philadelphia by Howe, raised hopes at home that the subjugation of the Colonies was not far distant. But a great humiliation changed all these hopes into fears. General Burgoyne, marching from Canada, was so hemmed in by the American troops at Saratoga, between Albany and Lake Champlain, that he was forced to surrender with all his brass cannon, muskets, and military stores (October 16, 1777). This was the turning-point of the strife. Thenceforward through five campaigns America had decidedly the best of the war.
- 10. Death of Chatham: 1778.—During the winter, the soldiers of Washington were shoeless and starving in Valley Forge, near Philadelphia; but inspired by the noble patience of their leader, they bore their sufferings bravely. The fourth

<sup>1</sup> La Fayette, a celebrated French soldier and patriot. When only twenty years cost. Two years later he returned to of age he sailed for America to aid the France for men and money.

campaign did not open till June. Howe had been succeeded meanwhile by Sir Henry Clinton, who soon abandoned the city of Philadelphia, in which the British army had passed the winter. It was during this year that the venerable Chatham, while thundering, in spite of age and illness, against a proposal of the Duke of Richmond to grant the Colonies independence, fell in a fit on the floor of the House of Lords, and was carried to a bed whence he never rose. He died five weeks afterwards. He had all along opposed the war as hopeless and cruel; but he had been equally opposed to the dismemberment of the empire. The policy he advocated was conciliation with a view to federation.

- 11. The fifth and sixth Campaigns: 1779-80.—No event of great note marked the fifth campaign (1779), which was conducted chiefly in the Southern States. In the sixth, however, Sir Henry Clinton took Charleston, the capital of South Carolina; Cornwallis annihilated Gates's army at Camden; and thus the British were complete masters of the South. In the North, Arnold, commander of a fort on the Hudson River, deserted, and became a general in the British service. Major André, who had arranged the affair, being seized by the American sentinels, was hanged as a spy by Washington, in spite of all attempts to save him.
- 12. Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown: 1781.—During the seventh campaign a second great disaster befell the British arms. Lord Cornwallis, the conqueror of Gates and La Fayette, was, by the skilful movements of Washington, shut up in Yorktown, in Virginia, and compelled to surrender with 7,000 men. This was the decisive blow; and although the war lingered through another campaign, the American Colonies were now virtually severed from the British Empire.
- 13. The Cry for Peace: 1779-80.—For several years past the war had been growing more and more unpopular in England, not so much because its object was disapproved of as on account of its enormous expense. Public meetings were held

<sup>1</sup> Camden, on the Delaware, opposite Philadelphia.

in various parts of the country, in 1779, to give expression to the feelings of the people. In the following year, a monster petition, sent up from Yorkshire, in favour of "economical reform," was received by the House of Commons; and thus the right of petitioning, refused to the men of Kent in 1701, was recognized and established. The Opposition took advantage of the state of feeling in the country to attack the Ministry. Protests were raised against the abuse of the patronage of the Crown for the purpose of influencing votes in Parliament. 1780 a motion, to the effect "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," was carried in the Commons by a considerable majority. Lord Shelburne moved in the Lords for an inquiry into the public expenditure, and for supporting it the Earls of Caermarthen and Pembroke were deprived of their lord-lieutenancies. deterred by these examples, Burke introduced a Bill for economical reform in the Commons, which North, in deference to public opinion, allowed to reach the stage of Committee; but there it was strangled.

- 14. The Rise of the younger Pitt: 1780.—In the new Parliament, which met in October, William Pitt the younger, Chatham's second son, sat as member for Appleby. In the following February (1781), Burke reintroduced his Bill for economical reform, and Pitt supported it in a speech which at once placed him in the front rank of orators and statesmen. The Bill, however, was rejected on the second reading. In the same session Fox's motion in favour of terminating the war was lost by a majority of seventy-three. The news of the disaster at Yorktown, which occurred shortly afterwards, had a marked effect on public opinion; and Pitt seized the opportunity to make a powerful attack on the Government.
- 15. Independence acknowledged: 1783.—In the following February (1782), a motion of no confidence was carried by a majority of one only; and then North resigned, and the Marquis of Rockingham returned to power. A subordinate post was offered to Pitt; but he declined it, though he supported the Government, of which both Fox and Burke were members.

Lord Rockingham dying in July, the Earl of Shelburne succeeded him as Prime Minister. Fox and Burke withdrew, and William Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the twenty-fourth year of his age. The war was then brought to a close with as little delay as possible, and in January 1783 the Independence of the Thirteen United States was formally acknowledged by the Treaty of Paris; and they became a Republic, governed by an elected President.<sup>1</sup>

- 16. The European War: 1779.—During the later years of the American War, Great Britain was engaged in a strife nearer home, which taxed her strength to the utmost. France recognized the independence of the United States in 1778, and made a treaty with them. Spain declared war against Great Britain in 1779, and Holland was added to the number of her enemies in the following year. At the same time, Russia, Sweden, and Norway had formed an Armed Neutrality for the protection of commerce. The allies claimed a free passage for neutral ships from port to port and on the coasts of belligerents, and demanded reality of blockade.
- 17. Great Siege of Gibraltar: 1779–82.—The chief event of the war was the unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar for three years (1779–1782) by the French and the Spaniards. The garrison—which was commanded by General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield—was temporarily relieved by Admiral Rodney in January 1780, and again by Admiral Darby in April 1781. Towards the end of the latter year, a brilliant sortie by the garrison destroyed the siege-works on the peninsula in less than an hour. The besiegers then resolved on a tremendous effort to bombard the place.
  - 18. The Bombardment: 1782.—Forty thousand men, under

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  The names of the Thirteen Original States, with the dates of their settlement or conquest, are as follows :—

North Carolina	
Massachusetts1620	
New Hampshire	
Maryland	Pennsylvania1681
Connecticut1635	
Rhode Island	

the direction of the Duc de Crillon, with four hundred pieces of artillery, gathered around the rock in 1782. To meet the storm

of red-hot balls which Elliot poured from the town, a French engineer constructed, at enormous expense, ten vessels which he declared to be shot-proof. Armed with new brass guns, these vessels floated slowly up to the batteries, attended by shoals of gunboats, frigates, and other craft. At nine on the



eventful morning (September 13), the "constructions" received from the garrison a warm welcome of red-hot iron, as they moved to the attack. All day the cannons roared. Towards evening, smoke jets, issuing from the sides of the monsters, showed that they were on fire. Two of them blew up; the rest were burned either by the British shells or by their own crews.

19. The Relief: 1782—Peace: 1783.—This repulse, however, did not relieve Gibraltar; for it was known that food and powder were running low within the walls. The blockade therefore continued, fifty sail of the line, with other vessels, occupying the Bay. The final relief of the garrison was accomplished by Admiral Lord Howe on the 14th of October. The Treaty of Versailles (signed on the same day as the Treaty of Paris) gave peace to Great Britain, France, and Spain in January 1783.

### CHAPTER XVIII.—INDIA AND IRELAND.

1. Clive Governor of Bengal: 1765.—The history of British India has been brought down to the close of the reign of George II., when Clive returned to England, leaving the British power supreme in India. (See page 107.) Clive was received in England with great distinction, and was raised to the Irish peer(898)

age as Baron Clive of Plassey. In India, however, things went wrong. The absence of Clive's vigorous hand and watchful eye at headquarters was distinctly felt. The East India Company's servants practised shameful extortion, and the service became diaorganized. The native princes began to assume an independent tone, and to throw off their allegiance. The Company was threatened with ruin. In these circumstances Clive was induced to return to India in 1765 as Governor of Bengal. He set himself vigorously to reform the service, and he concluded a favourable treaty with the Mogul Emperor. But his health again gave way, and he finally left India in 1767.

- 2. Warren Hastings first Governor-General: 1773.—Clive's departure was followed by a long succession of disasters. Hyder Ali, King of Mysore in Southern India, formed an alliance with the Mahratta chiefs in the north-west of the The Company's trade fell off to an alarming extent. A terrible famine ravaged the land. Lord North, who had come into power in 1770, passed in 1773 the Regulating Act, by which the Governor of Bengal was made superior to the Governors of Madras and Bombay. Warren Hastings, who had already filled the office of Member of Council both at Calcutta and at Madras, was appointed first Governor-General of In the same year General Burgoyne—afterwards the ignoble hero of Saratoga (see page 125)—led an attack on Clive's character in the House of Commons. It was prompted by those whom his reforms had made his enemies. The House admitted that he had been guilty of certain irregularities, but added to its Resolution "That Robert, Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." Though he was actually acquitted, the stain cast on his good name preyed on his mind, and drove him to commit suicide, November 1774. He was only forty-eight years of age.
- 3. Conquest of the Carnatic: 1780-83.—Hastings was not over-scrupulous in the means he adopted for filling his treasury, both to satisfy the shareholders of the Company and to carry on his wars. From the first, however, his administration was marked by the greatest vigour. When France joined the

Americans in 1778, Hastings lost no time ere he had captured Chandernagore and Pondicherry, and had all but ruined French

influence in India. 1780 Hyder Ali overran the Carnatic, and threatened Madras. Hastings made peace with the Mahrattas, and hurled against Hyder the whole of his available forces under Sir Evre Coote. Coote gained a brilliant victory over him at Porto Novo in 1781, and finally crushed him at Arnee in 1782. Hyder died before the end of that year, and



in 1783 his son Tipoo made peace with the British.

- 4. Captain Cook's Discoveries: 1767-79.—While Hastings had thus been building up the British power in India, the discoveries of Captain James Cook had been adding largely to the empire in another quarter of the globe. This celebrated sailor, who may well be called the founder of the Australian colonies, was born in Yorkshire in 1728. Between the years 1767 and 1779 he made three voyages round the world, exploring especially the South Seas and the coast of Australia. He was killed in 1779 at Hawaii, in the Sandwich Islands, by the spear of a treacherous native.
- 5. Anti-Catholic Riots: 1780.—Great changes had meanwhile taken place at home. Both in Scotland and in England, the public peace was disturbed by an outburst of fury against the Roman Catholics. In 1778, Sir George Savile induced Parliament to pass an Act relieving them from certain disabilities and penalties—such as the imprisonment of priests for saying mass, the inability to purchase land, the forfeiture to Protestant heirs of the estates of Romanists educated abroad. A cry of "No Popery" was at once raised; but no more serious

consequences occurred at first. The proposal to pass a similar Act for Scotland aroused the most passionate opposition in that country, at the head of which Lord George Gordon (a son of the Duke of Gordon) placed himself. A Protestant Interest Association was formed. In February 1780, an Edinburgh mob attacked and burned the houses of the Roman Catholic bishop and of other Romanists; nor was peace restored till the military were called out. Lord George transferred the agitation to London. Escorted by an immense mob. he went in June to the House of Commons to present a petition against the reversal of these laws. The petition was rejected, and then riots began. For a week the mob held London streets; nor did they yield to the soldiery until more than four hundred had been killed. Lord George was sent to the Tower, and tried for high treason; but he was acquitted. He afterwards embraced Judaism; and he died in Newgate in 1793, after six years' imprisonment for a libel on the Queen of France.

- 6. The Irish Roman Catholics: 1778-80.—In Ireland, as in England, some of the disabilities from which Roman Catholics suffered were removed about this time. In 1778 the Irish Parliament, led by Henry Grattan—the idol of the Irish people and an entirely honest patriot—annulled the most severe of the penal laws of 1707. Romanists were allowed to acquire land, on taking the oath of allegiance. Two years later, they were permitted to educate their children and to act as their guardians, and their clergy were relieved of penalties, on swearing allegiance to the King, and on agreeing to be registered.
- 7. The Irish Volunteers: 1779.—The Irish had other grievances, however. They complained bitterly that the restrictions imposed on their trade by the British Parliament were ruining their manufactures. The demand was therefore raised for free export; and, following the example of the American Colonists, the Irish prepared to support their demand with force. On the pretext of a threatened French attack on Belfast, they formed the league of the Volunteers, with Lord Charlemont at its head. Their excuse was that Ireland was

defenceless, every available soldier having been sent to America; and as they professed entire loyalty, the Government had no excuse for interfering with them. Bands of armed volunteers were raised and drilled in all parts of the country, and when the Irish Parliament met in 1779, 50,000 had been enrolled. Chiefly by their influence, Grattan carried an amendment to the Address, declaring "that a free trade alone could save the country from impending ruin." Bills were then passed for the free export of woollen and glass manufactures, and for reciprocal free trade with the British Colonies. In the following year, Lord North passed Bills in the British Parliament recognizing the commercial equality of Ireland, and allowing the free export of the chief Irish commodities.

- 8. Grattan's Parliament: 1780-82.—Behind the demand for free trade there arose the demand for a free Parliament. latter demand was stimulated by a declaration of Lord North -made to allay the fears of his own followers-that such concessions as the British Parliament had made, the British Parliament could withdraw. That led Grattan to assert in the British House of Commons "that without an Irish legislature wholly independent of that of Britain, the commerce of Ireland would be precarious" (1780). The agitation then begun lasted for two years, and resulted in the concession of independence to the Irish legislature. In 1782 so much of Poynings's Act (1494) as gave the Privy Council power to alter or to veto Irish bills was annulled. At the same time the Act of George I. (1719) which empowered the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland was repealed. The Mutiny Act was made biennial, and the right of appeal from the Irish law courts to England was abolished. The Rockingham Ministry, which had then come into power, did not dare to oppose these measures. Fox and Shelburne disapproved of them; but they gave way, and "Grattan's Parliament" was established with the unanimous vote of both Houses of the British Parliament. It lasted till 1801.
- 9. True Nature of the Settlement: 1782.—The settlement of 1782 was in no sense a triumph for Irish nationalism. It

was merely a triumph for the English Protestant aristocracy in Ireland, of whom Grattan was the leader. The farmers and the peasantry, who were almost all Roman Catholics, derived no benefit from the change. In some respects their position was worse. They were wholly unrepresented in the Parliament whose independence had been achieved. That independence increased the power of their enemies—the English landlords, to whom they had to pay exorbitant rents; and the English Church, to which they had to pay vexatious tithes, The restraint of the British Parliament and the control of the British Privy Council being both removed, the Irish legislature was free to do whatever injustice it was inclined to. change might benefit the manufacturers of Ulster: it could not improve the position of the mass of the Irish people. respect only was the power of the Parliament restrained. did not control the Executive. Though it had received independence, it had not received responsible government. The power to appoint the ministers still rested with the Lord-Lieutenant.

- 10. Catholic Emancipation.—After the question of legislative independence there arose the question of Parliamentary Reform, which included as its main issue Catholic Emancipation—the right of Roman Catholics to exercise the franchise and to sit in Parliament. Grattan himself was in favour of Catholic Emancipation; but his party was against it. Its chief advocates at this period were Henry Flood and John Philpot Curran. Flood's Bill for Parliamentary Reform was rejected in the Irish Parliament in 1783. In the same year, the Order of the Knights of St. Patrick was instituted, with the King as "Sovereign," and the Lord-Lieutenant as "Grand Master."
- 11. Parliamentary Reform.—The reform of the representation of Great Britain was fast becoming one of the questions of the day. The demand for reform was due to several causes—to the prevalence of bribery and corruption, to the limited franchise, to the fact that the House of Commons was representative of great land-owners rather than of the true Commons,

and to the demand for economical reform. The slow progress of the movement was due to the circumstance that it had to be dealt with by a corrupt Parliament, which could not, in the nature of things, be expected to be zealous in reforming itself. Wilkes brought forward a motion for reform in the House of Commons in 1776, and it was rejected. The Duke of Richmond proposed sweeping reforms in the House of Lords in 1780, and he also failed. Pitt's motion for a Committee of Inquiry in 1782 met with the same fate, though it was defeated by only twenty votes. In the same year, however, some specific reforms were adopted: contractors with the Government were excluded from the House of Commons, and revenue officers were disfranchised.

- 12. Fox's India Bill: 1783.—On the Shelburne Ministry, in which Pitt was Chancellor of the Exchequer, there devolved the task of completing the treaty with the United States. Though the country was pledged to peace, the treaty was unpopular. Fox and the moderate Whigs joined North and the Tories, and drove the Ministry from office. A Coalition Ministry was then formed by the Duke of Portland (April 1783). It included North and Fox. formerly bitter opponents. as well as Burke and Sheridan. The chief subject that engaged the attention of this Ministry was the government of India. Fox, in his India Bill, prepared by himself and Burke, proposed to vest the government of India for four years in a Commission appointed by Parliament, and afterwards to be nominated by the Crown. The Commons passed the measure; but it was violently opposed by the King, who authorized Earl Temple to say that any peer who voted for the Bill "would be considered by him as an enemy." The Lords then rejected the Bill. again brought forward the subject of Parliamentary Reform, commenting in a powerful speech on the unreality of the representation, the corruption of the electorate, and the power exercised by the Crown. His resolution was rejected by a majority of 144—nearly two to one.
- 13. Pitt's first Ministry: 1783-84.—The Portland Ministry was dismissed in December, and Pitt became Prime Minis-

ter and Chancellor of the Exchequer in his twenty-fifth year. His task was one of great difficulty, for he had to contend with a hostile majority, led by Fox and North, the most experienced Parliamentary tacticians of the day; and he had not a single able speaker on his side—himself excepted. For four months he fought with matchless skill and unfailing courage. and again the House of Commons adopted by large majorities resolutions declaring the continuance of the Ministry in office to be unconstitutional, and calling on the King to dismiss them. Pitt's India Bill was thrown out; supplies were postponed; even the Mutiny Bill was held over, all in order to force the Ministry to resign. The King, however, stood by Pitt. Lords and the City of London supported him. Above all, he knew that the mass of the nation was in his favour. Gradually the majority dwindled. When it had been reduced from one hundred and four to one, he dissolved Parliament (March 24). In the new Parliament, Pitt had an overwhelming majority, which insured his supremacy during the remainder of his life. One hundred and sixty supporters of the Coalition lost their seats.

- 14. Indian Board of Control: 1784.—One of the first uses Pitt made of his majority was to settle the government of India. This he did in 1784, by a Bill erecting the Board of Control, which consisted of six Privy Councillors appointed by the Crown, the principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Board, which continued till the Company was abolished in 1858, was a Ministerial Commission sitting in London which had supreme authority over the government of India and the affairs of the Company. All patronage, except that of the very highest offices, and all business, were left in the hands of the Company.
- 15. Pitt's financial Schemes: 1784-86.—In 1784, Pitt passed the Commutation Act, reducing the duties on tea and spirits. His object was to lessen the inducements to smuggling, which had increased enormously, and which always does increase when import duties are high. Two years later, Pitt established his Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National

Debt. One million sterling was laid aside every year, and was allowed to accumulate at compound interest. The plan worked well enough as long as there was a surplus from the ordinary revenue; but the fallacy of the scheme became evident a few years later, when the nation continued to invest its one million a year at a low rate of interest, and to borrow many millions at a much higher rate. Pitt also concluded in 1786 a Commercial Treaty with France, which abolished most of the protective duties imposed by each nation against the other. There was thus established a large measure of free trade between the two countries. This was the first practical application of the doctrine of Adam Smith.

16. Pitt's Irish Resolutions: 1785.—Pitt made a resolute effort to put the commercial relations of Great Britain and Ireland on a sound and liberal footing. The rejection of Flood's Reform Bill by the Irish Parliament in 1784, and again in 1785, threw Ireland into a state of wild excitement. In the very midst of it. Pitt's resolutions for the establishment of commercial equality between the two countries were adopted by the British Parliament. In order to get rid of the opposition of the English merchants, Pitt had modified his proposals, and had made them less favourable to Ireland. When a Bill embodying them was produced in the Irish Parliament in August 1785, it was vehemently opposed by Grattan, Curran, and Flood; and the Government majorities were so small that the Bill had to be withdrawn. The excitement increased. The Whitebous reappeared and committed many outrages. In Kerry, the Rightboys (followers of an imaginary "Captain Right") produced a reign of terror. Pitt then adopted the view that nothing could cure the ills of Ireland but a legislative union.

17. Pitt and Parliamentary Reform: 1785.—Pitt's last

Abroad.—In 1786, Frederick the Great of Prussia died, leaving Prussia in the position of one of the great powers of Europe.

In 1787, a civil war in the Low Countries led to the interference of Prussia and Austria; and the Netherlands fell from its leading position among European states. The Netherlands at that time came very much under the influence of Prussia, as the Belgian provinces were under that of Austria.

effort on behalf of Parliamentary Reform was made in the same year. As Prime Minister he introduced a Bill in which he proposed to disfranchise thirty-six "pocket boroughs," returning seventy-two members, and to give the seats to London and the counties. The extraordinary feature of the measure was its proposal to give compensation to the owners of these boroughs, at a cost to the country of one million sterling. The admission involved in this proposal, that the representation of the people was private property, could not reconcile even a venal House of Commons to the proposed reform; and the Bill was rejected by a majority of seventy-four. Pitt did not again touch the subject of reform.

- 18. The Regency Question: 1788-89.—King George had already given signs of mental weakness and derangement. 1788, his symptoms assumed so serious a form that it became necessary, as in 1765 (see page 117), to consider the question of the Regency. Here the views of Pitt and those of Fox were found to be in sharp conflict. Pitt maintained that it was the prerogative of Parliament to appoint the Regent, but announced his intention to propose the Prince of Wales. Fox held that "the heir-apparent had an inherent right to assume the reins of government." Pitt's was the constitutional view. As Parliament had established its power to change the succession to the throne, and had changed it, that implied its right to appoint a temporary ruler. Fox's "inherent right" theory implied also an "inherent right" to the crown. Pitt moved, in 1789, that the Prince of Wales should be invested with the royal authority, under certain specified limitations, one of which was that no new peers should be created. In the midst of the controversy, the King's recovery was announced, to the relief of Parliament and the joy of the nation.
- 19. The Test and Corporation Acts: 1787-90.—An attempt was made at this time to repeal the Corporation Act of 1661, and the Test Act of 1673. The former required all holders of municipal offices to renounce the Covenant and to conform to the Church of England; the latter imposed the same test on all persons holding any office under the Crown, and required

also a special renunciation of the doctrine of transubstantiation. A motion for the repeal of these Acts was made by Mr. Beaufoy in 1787, but it was defeated by a large majority. It was rejected again in 1789, but by a greatly reduced majority. In the following year, Fox's motion on the same subject was negatived by a majority so overwhelming (294 to 105) that it shelved the question for a generation. It was not revived again till 1828, when both Acts were repealed. (See page 193.)

- 20. The Slave Trade: 1787-91.—To the same period belongs the beginning of the agitation for the abolition of the slave trade, which, however, did not achieve its end till twenty years later. An Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed in 1787, and in the following year an Act was passed regulating the traffic carried on in slave-ships. The great and persistent advocate of the abolition of the inhuman traffic was William Wilberforce, the member for Hull. His resolutions condemning the trade were supported in the House of Commons by Burke and Fox in 1789, and by both Fox and Pitt in 1791; but they were rejected on both occasions. Undeterred by these rebuffs, Wilberforce and his friends Thomas Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay transferred the agitation from Parliament to the country, and the supporters of their cause steadily increased.
- 21. Trial of Warren Hastings: 1788-95.—Warren Hastings finally quitted India in 1785; and he left it in a state of unexampled peace. At first he was received at home with marked favour; but by-and-by murmurs of detraction began to be heard, and eventually he was impeached before the House of Lords. The chief charges against him were: that he had hired out British troops to crush certain free native tribes; that he had extorted large sums of money from native princes—in particular from the Rajah of Benares and the Princesses of Oudh; that, to this end, he had used oppression, and even torture;

Abroad.—In 1789, George Washington was elected first President of the United States of America. The city of Washington, named after him, was made the seat of the Government in 1792. The Capitol there was begun in 1793.

and that he had supported his authority by other unlawful means. The impeachment was moved in the House of Commons by Burke in a magnificent speech. Fox and Sheridan expended their most brilliant eloquence in assailing him. Pitt could not deny that he had acted tyrannically. The impeachment was accordingly voted. The trial commenced before the Lords in Westminster Hall in 1788. It lasted seven years, and in the end Hastings was acquitted. But the trial had ruined him, and he received a pension from the East India Company which enabled him to pass the close of his life in comfort.

22. Conquest of Mysore: 1792-99.—Hastings was succeeded as Governor-General by Lord Cornwallis, under whom the war against Tipoo was so vigorously prosecuted that in 1792 he was forced to submit. A few years later, however, a change in the government encouraged the Rajah to resume hostilities. In 1799, a powerful army was despatched to Mysore under General Harris. Seringapatam was stormed by Sir David Baird, and Tipoo was slain. Colonel Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the great Duke of Wellington), younger brother of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, was then appointed English Governor of Mysore. In 1803, he gained a brilliant victory over the Mahratta chiefs at Assaye, and forced them by treaty to surrender extensive territories to the British.

# CHAPTER XIX.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. Causes of the Revolution: 1789.—The French Revolution, which began in 1789, was the greatest event of the eighteenth century. During its continuance, the history of Great Britain is

Abroad.—In 1789, the great French Revolution commenced with the destruction of the Bastille, or state prison of Paris, and the summary execution of the governor and other officers. The *Tiers Etat* (Third Estate), or Commons members of the States-General, constituted themselves a National Assembly. The King and Queen attempted flight, but were arrested. In 1792, the National Convention proclaimed France a Republic.

to a great extent merged in the general history of Europe. In France, a long course of tyrannical oppression, and of reckless extravagance on the part of the Court, ended in serious national embarrassment. That was followed by an intolerable weight of taxation, which caused rankling discontent. Minister after minister tried to grapple with the financial difficulties, and failed. Then the Paris mob stormed the Bastille, and the Revolution began (July 14).

- 2. Its Effects in Great Britain.—The ferment quickly spread to Great Britain; but the great concessions made to the Parliament and the people at the Revolution of 1688 and subsequently, rendered it comparatively harmless there. Yet it imbittered party feeling, all the more that the claims of the people to larger and more direct representation in the House of Commons were beginning to be urged. Many even of the friends of reform were alarmed by the proceedings in France, and became opponents of change. Fox and the Whigs sympathized with the demands of the French people for liberty. Burke, however, denounced the excesses in France, and foretold the overturn of law and order. In 1790, he published his "Reflections on the French Revolution," in which he warned Englishmen against cherishing ideas which were yielding such terrible fruits across the Channel. Pitt's policy during the earlier scenes of the Revolution was that of strict neutrality. Ultimately its excesses impressed him with the danger of increasing the power of the people, and he changed his views on the extension of the franchise.
- 3. Affairs of Canada.—The effects of the Revolution were seen in the discussions raised by the Canada Bill of Earl Grenville, the Home Secretary, in 1791. Ever since the conquest of Canada, its government had been beset with difficulties arising from the differences in nationality and in religion which separated the inhabitants—the French being Roman Catholic, and the English generally Protestant. The Quebec Act of 1774 was an attempt to cure the evils, but it had been found wanting. That Act, in reality, had constituted Quebec a French province. It had established the Roman Catholic religion, and introduced

the whole body of the French civil law. The English population felt much aggrieved by these changes; and the French themselves were not satisfied with the Act, as the majority of the members of the Council were of English birth.

- 4. The United Empire Loyalists: 1783.—The controversies were suspended during the revolutionary war in the United States. The southern colonists made great efforts to induce the Canadians to join them; but these efforts were attended with very partial success. At the peace (1783), several thousands of the United Empire Loyalists, as the adherents of the King in the States were called, migrated to Canada. A large party of them from New York settled in Nova Scotia, west of the Bay of Fundy. In 1784, this district was constituted a separate province, styled New Brunswick, with Fredericton as capital.
- 5. The Canada Constitutional Act: 1791.—The object of the Bill of 1791 was to divide Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower, with a separate provincial government in each. Though a Government measure, it was heartly supported by Fox. Burke, on the contrary, denounced it in a violent philippic against republican principles which he thought the Bill favoured; and he declared that he would hold no intercourse with those who defended them. Fox, who had been his life-long friend, whispered, "There is no loss of friendship, I hope." "Yes," replied Burke, "there is loss of friendship. I know the price of my conduct: our friendship is at an end." The Bill passed, and is known as the Canada Constitutional Act. It established a Representative Assembly, a Legislative Council, and a Governor in each province. It did not, however, put an end to the evils which afflicted the colonies.
- 6. Pitt's first Coalition against France: 1793.—The Republic was established in France in 1792, and one of its first

Abroad.—In 1792, the Emperor Leopold II. concluded a treaty with Prussia against France. The allies were defeated both in Belgium and in Italy. After the defeat of the Austrians at the Bridge of Lodi (1796), Napoleon forced them to conclude a peace (1797) which gave Belgium to France in exchange for Dalmatia and other Venetian provinces.

acts was to offer help to the English people against their "tyrannical" Government. A few days after the execution of Louis in the following year, the French Republic declared war against Great Britain, which was joined by Holland, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and five smaller states in the first Coalition. The strife then kindled continued with little interruption for twenty-two years. It was soon manifest that the energies of France had been braced rather than exhausted by the hurricane of Revolution. Toulon, a strong fortress on the Mediterranean shore, having been surrendered to a British fleet by the French Royalists, was retaken by the cannon of the Republic, directed chiefly by a Corsican officer of artillery named Napoleon Bonaparte—afterwards the famous general and emperor.

7. Parliamentary Reform: 1793-94.—In Great Britain, the admirers of the Revolution became bolder. A Society of the Friends of the People was formed, and revived the cry for a reform of the representation in Parliament. Charles Grey (afterwards Earl Grey) brought forward a motion in favour of Reform in the House of Commons (1793). It was opposed not only by Burke, but also by Pitt, and was rejected by a majority of five to one. That was followed by great excitement in the country. Public meetings were held in support of the demands of the people. There were riots in Sheffield, Dundee, and other towns. The Government-became alarmed, and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, besides passing an Act against seditious assemblies (1794). Horne Tooke, a clergyman and a member of the Constitution Society, was, with two associates, tried for high treason at the Old Bailey, but was acquitted. In Scotland, the demand for reform, both economical and parliamentary, led to seditious meetings and publications. In Edinburgh, in 1793, five men were convicted of seditious practices, and were sentenced to transportation for periods varying from seven to

Abroad.—Louis XVI. of France was beheaded at the beginning of 1793, and his Queen before the end of the year. This was the time of the Reign of Terror, during which a band of demagogues, headed by Robespierre, shed the best blood in France like water. Its tyranny came to an end with the execution of Robespierre and nearly one hundred of his followers in 1794.

fourteen years. In the following year, a man named Robert Wall—a political Titus Oates—concocted a plot for the seizure of Edinburgh Castle, and was convicted of high treason and executed.

- 8. State of Ireland.—In Ireland the people prepared for rebellion. The Society of "United Irishmen" was formed in 1791, ostensibly to secure Parliamentary reform. The founders were Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister, and James Napper Tandy, a Dublin demagogue, who thought that Romanists and Ulster republicans, might be united on the ground of their common hatred of England. They agitated for the creation of an Irish republic independent of Great Britain, and held secret correspondence with France. The British Government endeavoured to conciliate the Irish by fresh concessions to Roman Catholics (1793); but as these did not include the right to sit in Parliament, they had no effect. Earl Fitz-William. appointed Lord-Lieutenant in 1795, after Portland and the Whigs joined Pitt, proposed, in conjunction with Grattan, to concede the Catholic claims, and was at once recalled. followed, and the United Irishmen openly demanded separation, and prepared for rebellion with the aid of France. Ulster Protestants, on the other hand, formed Orange Lodges in defence of the Government.
- 9. State of political Parties. Pitt's recantation of his opinions about reform was part of a general reaction which his views on political questions had undergone. His dread of disturbance and violence led him to distrust the people, on whose support he had formerly relied. He now held it to be the first and chief duty of Government to maintain law and order, and to support the Crown as their symbol. From this point onward in his career, Pitt was the head of a new Toryism, which consisted in resolute defence of the Constitution as it was, against all attempts to alter or amend it, combined with which there was defence of the rights of property. Many of

Abroad.—In 1793, Russia and Prussia took advantage of the disturbed state of Europe to effect a further partition of Poland.

the Old Whigs found themselves in practical agreement with Pitt's views, and joined his supporters. This led to a reconstruction of the Ministry in 1794, when the Duke of Portland, formerly a Whig, became Home Secretary. A third Secretaryship of State was now added to the Ministry—that of "Secretary for War," in addition to the existing "Secretary at War"—and was filled by the appointment of Henry Dundas, formerly Lord Advocate for Scotland. The Whigs who remained in opposition were called the "Friends of the People," and naturally became more advanced in their views. Fox and Grey were their leaders, and their watchword was "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform!" It was about this time that Fox declared that, "radical reform" was necessary.

10. War with Holland and Spain: 1795 .- Abroad, the British arms were generally successful. Lord Hood took Corsica. At the siege of Calvi, Captain Horatio Nelson greatly distinguished himself; but he lost the sight of his right eye in the action. A still greater victory was gained by Lord Howe in June, when he defeated the Brest fleet, capturing seven ships of the line and sinking one. Most of the French settlements in the East and the West Indies were taken. The French. however, had become masters of Flanders, and in 1795 Holland submitted to them, and was punished by the loss of the Cape of Good Hope and numerous settlements in the East and the West Indies. In the same year Prussia made a separate treaty with France, and Spain declared war against Great Britain. Nevertheless Pitt resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. Notwithstanding Pitt's determination to spare no effort while the war lasted, there can be no doubt of his genuine desire for peace. One of his chief difficulties hitherto had been the

Abroad.—In 1795, the last partition of Poland took place, Russia, Austria, and Prussia getting shares. Poland ceased to be an independent monarchy. A rising of the Poles under Kosciusko formed the excuse for its final dismemberment. Russia was thus brought more directly into the heart of Europe, and afterwards wielded greater influence as a European power. The remainder of Poland was annexed to Russia as a province in 1892.

In 1795, the French republican army drove the House of Orange from power in Holland, and established the Batavian Republic.

absence of a settled government in France with which to negotiate. That difficulty seemed to be removed when the Directory was established in 1795, and in the following year negotiations were opened, the Earl of Malmesbury being sent to Paris as Ambassador. As might have been expected, the British terms were scornfully rejected. The proposal had Fox's hearty approval; but Burke, though no longer in Parliament, denounced it as "a regicide peace."

- 11. Distress and Discontent at home: 1796-97.—In England it was a time of great gloom and distress. Food was dear, taxes were heavy, discontent was wide-spread. The ears of the King were assailed in the streets with cries of "Bread, bread!" and "Peace, peace!" The Bank of England had advanced so much money to the Government that it could no longer supply the demands of the public in specie. It therefore stopped cash payments, and issued notes of £1 and £2; and Pitt introduced and passed his Bank Restriction Act, prohibiting the Bank from paying in cash sums over 20 shillings (February). Fox still raised his voice against the war and in favour of freedom. In 1797, he moved for the repeal of the repressive measures adopted two years previously for checking treasonable practices and seditious meetings; but he was supported with only forty votes. In the following year his name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors by order of the King.
- 12. Battle of St. Vincent: February 1797.—The year 1797 was one of the most eventful of the war. France, Spain, and Holland organized a double invasion of the British Isles. The French and Spanish fleets were to unite and descend on Britain. The Dutch fleet was to carry an army of 14,000 men to the shores of Ireland. The Spanish fleet was at Cadiz, the French at Brest, and the Dutch at the island of Texel. The object of

Abroad.—In 1795, the French Directory succeeded the Convention. It gave place to a Military Dictatorship, with Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul, in 1799. Bonaparte was made Consul for life in 1802, and Emperor in 1804. The successive forms of government between 1789 and 1804 were—absolute monarchy, limited monarchy, republic, oligarchy, aristocracy, dictatorship, and empire.

the British tactics was to prevent the union of any two of these fleets. For that purpose Viscount Bridport (Hood's brother) watched the French fleet, and Admiral Duncan blockaded the Dutch, while Sir John Jervis with the Mediterranean squadron cruised off the south of Portugal to intercept the Spaniards should they sail northward. Their attempt to do so led to the Battle of St. Vincent, on February 14, in which the British, though inferior in the number and size of their ships, gained a complete victory. The result was mainly due to the brilliant dash into the very midst of the enemy's lines made by Commodore Nelson in defiance of orders. Having captured the San Nicolas, he boarded from it the San Josef, the flag-ship of the Spanish Admiral, himself leading the assault, and shouting, "Westminster Abbey or victory!" Spain was so crippled that she could take no part in the projected invasion.

13. Mutiny in the Fleet: April-June 1797.—The French and Dutch fleets were still intact, and, if combined, would have This critical juncture was chosen by the been formidable. sailors of the British fleet as the time for a serious and widespread mutiny. The men had no doubt good grounds of complaint. They demanded more pay, better food, better attention when sick, and more liberty when in port. There was, however, something recklessly unpatriotic in the time they chose for urging their demands. The mutiny began at the Spithead in April. There it was suppressed without much difficulty, chiefly owing to the personal popularity of Lord Howe. In May it spread to Sheerness, and assumed a much more serious aspect. The mutineers, led by Richard Parker, who took the style of "Rear-Admiral," seized the ships and sent the officers on shore. Removing from the neighbourhood of the land batteries at Sheerness to the Nore, they anchored the ships across the Thames in order to close the mouth of the river. There they were joined by the greater part of Admiral Duncan's North Sea fleet; and if the Dutch had known how matters stood they might have had an easy victory. But Duncan, though left with only two ships, deceived the enemy by continuing to signal as if his whole squadron were with him still. London was in dismay; but

the Government acted with firmness and promptitude. What really caused the collapse of the mutiny was the proposal of the ringleaders to sail the fleet into a French port. with which the advice was rejected showed that the men were still loyal at heart; and they surrendered in June. Eighteen of the ringleaders, including Parker, were hanged at the yard-arm.



14. Battle of Camperdown: October 1797.—In October. Duncan, who had taken an active part in suppressing the mutiny, learned that the Texel fleet had put to sea. mediately rejoined his squadron, and, cutting in between the enemy and a lee shore off Camperdown, brought on an engagement which lasted four hours, and ended in the total defeat of the Dutch, with the loss of eight sail of the line and three other ships. All danger of an invasion was now at an end. On the Continent, however, the French arms were successful. Napoleon and Massena broke the power of Aus-

tria in a series of brilliant victories, and she had to submit to the humiliating Treaty of Campo Formio, near Venice. broke up the Coalition.

15. Battle of the Nile: 1798.—Bonaparte spent two campaigns in Egypt and Syria, engaged in a fruitless attempt to open a path for the conquest of India. Sailing from Toulon

Abroad.—In 1798, the French dashed into Switzerland, to secure the treasure at Berne. They upset the cantonal government, setting up the Helvetian Republic on the French model. The Swiss resisted, and in 1802 a new league was formed on the old cantonal plan. It was re-formed in 1814; and a new constitution was introduced in 1848, with Berne as the sole capital.

with a great fleet and army, he took Malta 1 on his way, and landed at Alexandria. Then pressing on to Cairo,2 he defeated

the Mamelukes<sup>3</sup> of Egypt in the Battle of the Pyramids. the eve of the battle he pointed to the Pyramids and exclaimed. "Soldiers! remember that from these Pyramids forty centuries contemplate your deeds." But he had been followed by Admiral Nelson, who annihilated his fleet as it lay in the Bay of Aboukir. The action began at sunset, and lasted until daybreak. Nelson was severely wounded on the



head by a splinter of iron. The French flag-ship, L'Orient, blew up during the battle, with the admiral and his crew of 1,000 men. Nelson at once sent boats to rescue the French seamen who were struggling in the water. Never was a naval victory more complete than that of the Nile. Of thirteen French menof-war, nine were taken and two burned. The victor was made a peer, with the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile.

16. Battle of Alexandria: 1801.—By this brilliant victory the army of Bonaparte was imprisoned amid the sands of Egypt. But, never inactive, he led his soldiers, early in 1799, across the desert between Egypt and Palestine, took the town of Jaffa by storm, and laid siege to Acre.4 Two days before his

<sup>1</sup> Malta, an island in the Mediterranean; 54 miles south-west of Sicily. Chief town, Valetta. In 1530 it was granted by the Emperor Charles V. to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, then driven from Rhodes by the Turks. It remained in their hands till 1798. In 1800 the British took it, and it has ever since continued one of their most important ocean fortresses.

miles south-east of Alexandria.

the Sultan of Egypt, composed of Tartar It was seized by Ibrahim Pasha in 1832. slaves (1230). By-and-by they acquired In 1840 it was taken by England.

supreme power, founding one dynasty in 1254 and another in 1382. From 1507 till 1798 Egypt was governed by twentyfour Mameluke Beys, or governors of provinces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Acre, on the coast of Syria, near the foot of Mount Carmel. It is famous for its sieges. It was taken by the Crusaders in 1104; by the Saracens in 1187; by the <sup>2</sup> Cairo, the chief city of Egypt; 112 Crusaders again, under Richard I., in 1191. It was retaken by the Saracens in 1291, <sup>3</sup> Mamelukes, originally a bodyguard of when 60,000 Christians were put to death.

arrival at the place, Sir Sidney Smith had entered the bay with a small squadron. The Turkish commander was on the point of surrendering; but Smith sent seamen and marines, guns and ammunition, into the old fortress of St. John. Additional fortifications were hastily thrown up, and the place was so gallantly defended that after repeated efforts to storm its walls during two months, the French were forced to retreat to Egypt. Alarming news from Paris caused Bonaparte to leave his soldiers in Egypt, and hurry back to France. The army thus abandoned lost spirit, and was finally routed at Alexandria in 1801 by Sir Ralph Abercromby, who received a mortal wound during the action.

17. French Designs on Ireland: 1796.—In no part of Europe did the evil example of the French Revolution bear more bitter fruit than in Ireland. The United Irishmen still persisted in their schemes, and still intrigued with France. In 1796, after Pitt formed his Coalition with Prussia and Austria, the French Directory, by way of retaliation, projected an invasion of Ireland with 25,000 men under Marshal Hoche. The fleet, however, was scattered by storms, and only a few ships reached Bantry Bay. Being unable to effect a landing owing to adverse winds, they returned to France. In the following year, renewed disturbances having occurred in the north, owing to the conflicts of Romanists and Orangemen, General Lake was ordered to disarm the Ulster rebels. He carried out the order with excessive rigour and cruelty, frequently torturing the peasants in order to force from them their concealed arms.

18. Irish Rebellion: 1798.—In the beginning of 1798, the Government received information of a formidable conspiracy in Ireland, in support of which 250,000 men were ready to appear in arms. Arthur O'Connor and two accomplices were arrested at Margate with treasonable documents in their possession. The hiding-place of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Dublin having been discovered, three officers were sent to arrest him. Of these he killed one and seriously wounded another, while he was himself shot by the third, and died a few days later (May). Then an aimless and unsuccessful rising took place. A pro-

jected attack on Dublin failed, the Government being thoroughly prepared. In Antrim and Down the rebellion was slightly felt, but it raged fiercely for about two months in Wicklow and Wexford. In the Battle of Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy in Wexford, General Lake routed the great mass of the Irish army (June 21). When all was over, 1,100 French troops under General Humbert landed at Killala Bay in Mayo, and marched inland. Having been joined by 1,000 of the Irish, they defeated Lake at Castlebar (August 26). Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy, then took the field, and surrounding Humbert's force at Ballinamuck, near Longford, compelled him to surrender (September). In October another French squadron appeared in Lough Swilly, and was defeated. Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy, who had been specially active in carrying on the intrigues with the French, were both arrested soon afterwards. The former committed suicide in prison when under sentence of The latter was spared, being deemed too contemptible for punishment. He died in 1803.

19. The Irish Union: 1799-1801.—Though the rebellion had been crushed, its seriousness confirmed Pitt in the view he had long held, that nothing but a complete legislative union between the two countries would secure peace. Resolutions proposing such a union were, in 1799, carried in the British Parliament; but in the Irish Parliament they were denounced in the most violent terms. The work of conciliating opponents was undertaken by Lord Cornwallis the Viceroy, and by Lord Castlereagh the Chief Secretary, a young and eager Irish politician who had been won over to the side of the Government. The chief instrument employed was money, given not in the offensive form of open bribes, but in the veiled form of "compensation" to the owners of seats in the Irish Parliament. After much controversy and much negotiating, the end was accomplished. On February 18, 1800, the resolutions for union were adopted by the Irish Parliament by a majority of 46. The Bill completing the union received the royal assent on August 2, and the union came into effect on January 1, 1801. Thenceforward the people of Ireland were to be represented in

the Imperial Parliament by thirty-two Lords and one hundred Commoners; their traders obtained many new and valuable privileges, while the taxes were much lighter than those paid in Great Britain. The sum of money spent in "compensation" was £1,260,000, and that formed an addition to the Irish national debt. At the same time many new peerages were created, while many existing peers were rewarded with a step in their dignities.

## CHAPTER XX.—THE CONTINENTAL WARS.

- 1. Pitt's second Coalition: 1799.—Nelson's great victory at the Nile (1798) had enabled Pitt to form a second Coalition against France (1799), in which Great Britain was joined by Russia, Austria, Portugal, Turkey, and Naples. When the news of that arrangement reached Bonaparte, he suddenly returned from the East, as has been mentioned already, overthrew the Directory, and established the Consulate. made First Consul for ten years; and wishing to consolidate his government, he wrote directly to King George proposing peace. Pitt rejected his overtures, and the war continued. Bonaparte then hurled his legions once more against Austria. With 36,000 men he crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard, and poured his army like an avalanche on the plains of Lom-Austria, humbled at Marengo, in Piedmont bardy (1800). (June), and Hohenlinden, in Bavaria (December), was constrained to accept terms of peace at Luneville early in 1801.
- 2. The Armed Neutrality League: 1800.—Meanwhile Bonaparte had succeeded in detaching Russia from the Coalition. Malta, which had been captured by Bonaparte on his way to Egypt, surrendered to Great Britain in September 1800. The island had been in the possession of the Knights of St. John for two centuries and a half. The Czar Paul, as titular Grand Master of the Order, thought himself entitled to it, and was much annoyed because the British retained it. He also objected to the right claimed by Great Britain to search neutral ships.

<sup>1</sup> Read Thomas Campbell's "Hohenlinden."

On these pretexts, the Czar revived, with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, the Armed Neutrality League of the Northern Powers. Great Britain was thus left almost alone in the struggle with France.

3. Resignation of Pitt: 1801.—At this juncture the man who had directed the policy of the country during the war was removed from the helm of State. Though Pitt had renounced his early views on the representation of the people in Parliament, he thought that the union with Ireland would be more complete and lasting if the Roman Catholics were "emancipated;" that is to say, if they were allowed to sit in Parliament and to hold public offices, like their fellow-citizens. As the King refused to listen to these proposals, Pitt resigned, after having held office for upwards of seventeen years. He was succeeded by Henry Addington (February). Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, was Foreign Secretary.

4. Bombardment of Copenhagen: 1801.—To counteract the

Northern League, a fleet of eighteen sail under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson left Yarmouth Roads for the Sound on the 12th of March. Nelson undertook to reduce the batteries of Copenhagen with ten ships; and, having got twelve, he proceeded to take soundings and to lay down buoys in the winding channel which led up to the Danish position. In the hottest of the cannonade a signal fluttered on the topmast of Parker's ship, com-



manding Nelson to cease firing. The hero turned his telescope towards the flag, but held it to his sightless eye, and went on with the attack, desiring his own signal for "closer action" to be nailed to the mast. At about two in the afternoon

the Danish fire slackened and then ceased. Some of the ships which had struck fired on boats that were pulling to take possession of them; upon which Nelson wrote as follows to the Crown Prince: "Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers. and should never be the enemies, of the English."1 This humane and dignified remonstrance had its effect. A flag of truce came from the shore, and next day the victor landed to tell the Crown Prince why the battle had been fought. This "glorious disobedience" was rewarded with the title of Viscount.

- 5. The Treaty of Amiens: 1802.—A second and fatal blow to the Northern League was the death of its originator, the Czar Paul, who was assassinated by the Governor of St. Petersburg and other malcontents. His successor, Alexander, formed a treaty with Britain, to which Denmark and Sweden acceded. The way being thus smoothed for a general peace, Amiens was appointed as the place for its discussion. After some wrangling about Malta, the Treaty of Amiens was concluded and signed on the 27th of March 1802. The parties to it were Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland. France gained unduly, both in Flanders and in the East. Great Britain retained only Trinidad and Ceylon, and agreed to give up Malta. Yet it was well known that the peace was a shallow pretence on the part of Bonaparte, and every one regarded it as merely an armed truce. The war had raised the National Debt of Great Britain to £520,000,000 sterling.
- 6. Renewal of the War: 1803.—The peace was of short duration. The British Government knew well that Bonaparte (now First Consul for life) was continuing his preparations for war. He did his utmost, by slights and insults, to provoke

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Campbell's "The Battle of the Baltic."

Britain to a declaration of hostility. He demanded that restraints should be put on the British press, which made virulent attacks on him; and he required the expulsion of French refugees who were his enemies. All these demands were rejected. On one thing the British Government was resolved—that Malta should not be evacuated until it was certain that Bonaparte would not seize it with a view to the reoccupation of Egypt. The Government therefore proposed to hold it for ten years, and then to restore it to the Knights of St. John. This ultimatum having been rejected, war with France was declared by the King on the 18th of May 1803. Four days later, a decree of the First Consul threw into prison several thousand British tourists, whom the peace had induced to cross the Channel.

- 7. Threatened Invasion: 1803.—The great terror of a French invasion took a very distinct shape in the summer of 1803. One hundred thousand men lay encamped at Boulogne; and the wings of this great central body spread to the number of 50,000 more from Brest on the one hand to Antwerp on the other. Quietly and resolutely Great Britain collected her energies for the conflict. In addition to her previous resources, a force of volunteers begirt her with a ring of defence. Civilians to the number of 300,000 went to drill and learned the use of arms. Gun-boats also clustered along the line of the Cinque Ports. The watchfulness of Collingwood and Nelson prevented the invasion. Suddenly the "Army of England" was marched against Austria.
- 8. Emmet's Rising in Dublin: 1803.—In Ireland an outbreak, which might have been serious had it not been premature, took place on the 23rd of July. A store of gunpowder having exploded, the insurgents were forced into action; and, breaking into various bands in the streets which branch from the Castle of Dublin, they were dispersed by the fire of the military and the police. The murder of Chief-Justice Kilwarden degraded their enterprise. Robert Emmet, the leader of the rising, was seized in his hiding-place among the hills of Wicklow, was brought to trial, condemned, and executed, as were also seventeen of his accomplices.

- 9. Pitt's second Ministry: 1804.—When the Addington Ministry resigned in 1804, having manifestly lost the confidence of Parliament and the country, the King commissioned Pitt to form a new Cabinet. Though the Ministry had fallen before the combined attacks of Pitt, Fox, and Grenville, the King made it a special condition that Fox was to have no place in the new Government; and Grenville declined to accept office without him. Pitt further agreed to postpone the question of the Roman Catholic disabilities. Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, 1 was First Lord of the Admiralty, and Castlereagh acted as President of the Board of Control, while Pitt took the Exchequer for himself. The Treasurership of the Navy was given to George Canning, a young statesman of rare wit and eloquence, who, as Under Secretary, had been a valuable member of Pitt's earlier administration. Fox led the Opposition in the Commons, and Earl Grenville in the Lords. In the same month Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French, with the title Napoleon I.
- 10. Pitt's third Coalition: 1805.—Pitt then formed—with Russia, Austria, and Sweden—his third Coalition against France. France was joined by Spain. Napoleon, now Emperor, once more meditated an invasion of Great Britain, before marching against Austria. His great difficulty was, that he could not get command of the Channel, so watchful were Nelson and the other To decoy Nelson from his post, Napoleon British admirals. ordered his admiral (Villeneuve) across the Atlantic, to threaten the West Indies. Nelson followed him. Villeneuve, escaping Nelson's notice, suddenly returned to Spanish waters. Nelson then returned to England; but when he heard that the French and Spanish fleets had taken refuge in Cadiz harbour, where they were watched by Admiral Collingwood, he at once tendered his services to Pitt. On the 14th September his flag was run up to the top-mast of the Victory in Portsmouth harbour.

1 Melville. In April 1805 he was compelled to resign, his impeachment on a charge of misapplying the public money that his confidential agent, Mr. Trotter, had having been carried in the House of Com- used public money for his own advantage.

11. The Battle of Trafalgar: 1805.—A fortnight later, he was within reach of Cadiz. Hiding behind Cape St. Mary—north-west of the entrance to Cadiz harbour—he watched the foe by means of a few frigates, as eagerly, to use his own

phrase, "as a cat watches mice." On the 19th October, Villeneuve stole out of the harbour, hoping to reach the Strait of Gibraltar, and ultimately Toulon, without notice. Nelson feared that his prey had escaped him, but at daybreak of the 21st he sighted a great line of vessels between him and the low



dark headland of Trafalgar, midway between Cadiz and Gibraltar. The combined fleets of France and Spain amounted to thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs. Nelson had twenty-seven first-rates, four frigates, one schooner, and one cutter. A presentiment of death clouded his spirit as he neared the foe; and one of the first things he did, after giving the signal of approach, was to write in his diary a short prayer. In two columns—the one led by Nelson in the Victory, the other by Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign—the line of battle bore down on the enemy, whose ships had drifted out of a straight line into the form of an irregular crescent. Words were then signalled from the mast-head of the Victory which have ever since stirred the heart like a peal of patriotic music,—"England expects every man to do his duty."

The French opened the action by firing single shots to try their range. Nelson paced the quarter-deck of the *Victory* in his well-worn frock-coat, whose tarnished stars on the left breast displayed the decoration of the Bath. At ten minutes past twelve Collingwood reached the centre of the enemy's line. For quarter of an hour the *Royal Sovereign* was surrounded by five vessels of the enemy, which fired at her, and of course at one another, in the most reckless style. Tiring soon of this,

and pressed by other English ships that had followed their noble leader into the heart of action, four of these vessels turned to defend themselves. The line of Villeneuve, though yet unbroken, was thrown into some confusion.

Nelson then directed his flag-ship, the Victory, against that horn of the French crescent which pointed towards Cadiz. The Santissima Trinidad was the goal for which he steered; and, as he bore steadily down, a galling fire tore his rigging and raked his deck. Like Collingwood, he bore the brunt of a cannonade from several of the enemy's ships at one time. Yet not a match was laid to touch-hole in the Victory until she reached the Bucentaur, in which Villeneuve was thought to be. Then out burst from every port in the side of Nelson's ship a jet of fire, hurling double and treble shot into the hull, which in two minutes swung a mere log on the rolling sea.

- 12. Death of Nelson: 1805.—The interest of the scene deepened when the rigging of the Victory became entangled with that of the Redoubtable. The latter shut her lower ports, lest boarders might leap through; and the ships, whose guns lay almost mouth to mouth, continued to crush each other's oaken sides with heavy shot. Every stage or cradle on the masts of the Redoubtable was filled with French riflemen, who fired at the officers and men on the decks of the Victory. Nelson, walking on the quarter-deck, with stars on his breast, attracted the eye of a rifleman in the mizzen-top of the French vessel. He fired; and Nelson fell, shot through epaulet, shoulder, and spine. It was a quarter-past one; and three hours later he died, having breathed into the ear of Captain Hardy his last words—"Thank God, I have done my duty." Before the end came he was cheered with the news of a complete victory. Ere the battle ceased, nineteen ships of the line had struck their flags. Nelson was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, the whole nation mourning for its "darling hero." His brother was made an earl, and large grants of money were made to him and to his sister.
- 13. Rupture of the Coalition: 1805.—While England thus triumphed at sea, Napoleon, as usual, was successful on land.

In October he caught General Mack at Ulm, in Wurtemburg, and forced him to surrender with 28,000 Austrians. He then occupied Vienna. In December he defeated the Emperors of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz, in Moravia, and forced on Austria the Treaty of Pressburg, which brought to an end the "Holy Roman Empire," founded by Charles the Great in 800. This broke up the Coalition. At the same time Prussia renounced her alliance with Great Britain, and joined France, having acquired Hanover from Napoleon by treaty.

14. Death of Pitt: 1806.—In January 1806. Pitt succumbed to the toils of statesmanship. He was only forty-six years of age when he died. A magnificent public funeral, and a grant of £40,000 to pay his debts, testified the regard in which he was held by his contemporaries. Earl Grenville became First Lord and Prime Minister, with Fox as Foreign Secretary, and Lord Sidmouth (Henry Addington) as Privy Seal. The friends of this Ministry boasted that it contained "All the Talents" of the country—a description which its enemies applied to it in derision. Fox directed the energies of the last year of his life toward the accomplishment of two objects—the conclusion of peace and the suppression of slavery. Wilberforce, whose antislavery Bill had been thrown out by the Lords in 1804, had the satisfaction this year of seeing Fox in the Commons, and Grenville in the Lords, carry resolutions agreeing to take measures for the abolition of the slave trade. An Act giving effect to the resolutions was carried in the following year. itself was not abolished in the British dependencies till 1833.

15. Death of Fox: 1806.—The summer of 1806 brought symptoms of the end to Fox. Dropsy of the most obstinate kind setting in, he tried to reach the house he loved at St. Ann's Hill, but could get no further than the Duke of Devon-

Abroad.—In 1804, the Emperor Francis I. was declared hereditary Emperor of Austria. The title of Emperor of Germany was dropped from 1806. Napoleon formed the other German States—some of which; as Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Saxony, were erected into monarchies—into the "Confederation of the Rhine," with himself as Protector. It lasted from 1806 till 1814.

shire's house at Chiswick. Surrounded by kind friends, and but rarely visited by any of his colleagues, he breathed his last on the 13th of September, being then in his fifty-eighth year. Scarcely seven months had elapsed since he spoke words of sorrowful tribute over the early grave of Pitt, whose policy he had combated with all his might, but whose genius he cordially admired. Now the roof of Westminster shadowed the dust of these two great Englishmen.

"Drop upon Fox's grave the tear, Twill trickle to his rival's bier."

16. Fourth Coalition against France: 1806.—Fox's place as Foreign Secretary was taken by Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey), who succeeded in forming a fourth Coalition against France. It was joined by Russia, Prussia, and Saxony. The conduct of Prussia not unnaturally excited Napoleon's wrath. She had occupied Hanover in April, and, though then at peace with Great Britain, had accepted it from Napoleon. erection of the Confederation of the Rhine in July excited her jealousy, and in October she declared war against France. Prussia, therefore, Napoleon resolved to strike the first blow. Within a week of the declaration of war, he inflicted on Prince Hohenlohe the irretrievable defeat of Jena, near Leipzig; and on the same day another division of his army overthrew the King of Prussia at Auerstadt, ten miles farther north. leon then marched to Berlin, and issued thence his famous Berlin Decree against British commerce (November). famous Decree was the beginning of Napoleon's "Continental System." It declared the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, and ordered all Englishmen in countries occupied by the French to be seized as prisoners of war. The British Government retaliated by issuing Orders in Council prohibiting trade with France and her allies (November 1807). Napoleon responded with the Milan Decree (December 17), which threatened with forfeiture any neutral ship bound for a French port, or a port friendly to France, if it called first at a British port. The Continental System did Napoleon harm rather than good.

It hampered commerce, and raised the price of commodities, and thus caused discontent among the European States. It led on the one hand to the Peninsular War, and on the other hand to the American War of 1812.

- 17. The Portland Ministry: 1807.—Meantime the Ministry of "All the Talents" had fallen. Grenville introduced a Bill to admit Roman Catholics into the army and the navy. This excited the alarm of the King on the point on which he was most nervous. Not content with the withdrawal of the Bill by the Ministry, he dismissed the ministers. The new Prime Minister was the Duke of Portland, but the Government was really directed by Spencer Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Canning was Foreign Secretary, Castlereagh was War and Colonial Secretary, and Sir Arthur Wellesley Chief Secretary for Ireland. In the new Parliament, which met in June, the majority was strongly Tory and anti-Catholic.
- 18. Second Bombardment of Copenhagen: 1807.—Canning saw with alarm the union of Napoleon and the Czar, who, meeting upon a raft in the river Niemen, concluded the Treaty of Tilsit. He knew that Napoleon meant to seize the fleets of Denmark and Portugal, and use them in his designs on Britain. With all speed and secrecy, therefore, he sent out an expedition to Denmark, under Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, who was assisted by General Wellesley. Caution was necessary, as a French army lay ready for action close to the Danish frontier. On the refusal of the Danes to surrender their fleet, shot and shell began to fall on Copenhagen with such devastating fury that the whole city seemed wrapped in flames. Opening on the 2nd of September 1807, the fire continued to roar till the evening of the 5th, when the Danish general agreed to surrender

Abroad.—In 1806, Napoleon made one brother (Joseph) King of Naples, which was separated from Sicily; and another (Louis) King of Holland. When Joseph was made King of Spain in 1808, Napoleon conferred the crown of Naples on Joachim Murat, his brother-in-law. Louis abdicated in 1810, and Holland was annexed to France till 1813, when the House of Orange was recalled; and the seventeen provinces were united as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Murat reigned at Naples till 1815.

the ships. The small island of Heligoland, 1 in the North Sea, was then taken from Denmark, and became a British possession.

## CHAPTER XXI.—THE PENINSULAR WAR.

- 1. French Occupation of Portugal: 1807.—Portugal, which had always been the faithful ally of Britain, declined to accept the Berlin Decree. Napoleon, annoyed by this show of spirit, resolved to crush the little country by a single blow. formed a secret treaty with Spain, by which he obtained leave to send his troops through that country to the frontier of Portugal. He published a proclamation that "the House of Braganza<sup>2</sup> had ceased to reign in Europe;" and sent General Junot with 30,000 men to take possession of Lisbon. On his approach, the Prince-Regent<sup>3</sup> and the royal family of Portugal sailed to Brazil. Junot then occupied Portugal in the name of the French Emperor.
- 2. The Spanish Crown: 1808.—Meanwhile a quarrel was disturbing the royal family of Spain. Ferdinand, the heirapparent to the crown, was annoyed by the ascendency possessed by Godoy,4 the minister of state of Charles IV., and the favourite of the Queen. The Prince intrigued against Godoy, and therefore quarrelled with his father. An insurrection in Madrid in March 1808 led to the abdication of Charles and the proclamation of Ferdinand. Within a week of this event Marshall Murat entered Madrid with a French army. First Ferdinand and then Charles was lured to Bayonne, to hold an interview with the French Emperor. Partly by artifice and partly by

House of Braganza still holds the Portu-

guese throne. <sup>3</sup> Prince - Regent. His mother, Queen Maria I., had fallen into a state of melan-

<sup>1</sup> Heligoland remained a British possession | death in 1816, he succeeded her as John VI., and returned to Lisbon in 1821.

till 1890, when it was ceded to Germany. <sup>2</sup> House of Braganza. Its founder was John, Duke of Braganza, who was proclaimed King as John IV. in 1640. The

<sup>4</sup> Godoy (Don Manuel). He was of humble birth, and began life as a private in the Royal Guards. He owed his promotion to the favour of the Queen, Louisa. Having in 1795 concluded with Bonaparte the Treaty of Basle between Spain and France, he was afterwards known as choly and derangement in 1792. On her "the Prince of the Peace."

menace, both father and son were induced to resign all their rights to the Spanish throne into the hands of Napoleon. He then made his brother Joseph, who had for some time held the throne of Naples, King of Spain; and he gave the throne of Naples to his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat.

- 3. The British in Portugal: 1808.—The National party in Spain rose in arms against this usurpation, and appealed to Great Britain for help, which Canning, the Foreign Secretary, induced the Government to promise. Hence arose the Peninsular War, in which Napoleon's ambition received its first The real struggle was not only for the possession serious check. of Spain and Portugal. It was a conflict between the despotism which Napoleon was trying to establish all over Europe, and free institutions represented by Great Britain. Sir Arthur Wellesley, already distinguished in Indian wars, was sent to the Peninsula with 10,000 men. Having landed at Mondego Bay in Portugal, he defeated Marshal Junot at Vimiero 1 on the 21st of August. On the same day he was superseded in the command by the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard, his senior, whose dilatoriness enabled the French to escape to Torres Next day Sir Hew Dalrymple, the commander-inchief, arrived from Gibraltar, and superseded Burrard.
- 4. The Battle of Corunna: 1809.—Sir Hew Dalrymple, on his own responsibility, made with Junot a treaty called the Convention of Cintra, actually signed at Lisbon, by which the French were allowed to evacuate Portugal with all their arms and warlike stores. For this foolish leniency Sir Hew was recalled and censured, and Sir John Moore took his place. Burrard and Wellesley were also recalled, and the latter was freed from blame. Deceived by promises of aid which the Spanish Junta or Council of State could not fulfil, Moore led

Abroad.—In 1808, at the beginning of the Peninsular War, the royal family of Portugal took refuge in Brazil. That country was constituted a kingdom subject to Portugal in 1815, and became an independent empire under Dom Pedro (son of the King of Portugal) in 1822.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Viniero, thirty-five miles north of  $\begin{vmatrix} 2 & Cinira \\ Lisbon \end{vmatrix}$ .

his army into the heart of Leon; but there he received the alarming news that, notwithstanding the gallant defence of



Saragossa 1 by the Spaniards, Napoleon was master of Madrid. There was no course open to the British leader but a retreat toward the shore of Galicia, in the north-west of Spain. The sufferings of the army during that backward march were past description. It was mid-winter, food was scarcely to be had, and Soult pressed constantly on the rear. When the British reached Corunna, on January 10th, their ships had not yet arrived, and

Soult was close upon them. Moore arranged to embark on the 16th, the ships having by that time arrived; but on that very day the French attacked him, and were gallantly repulsed with great slaughter. Moore, killed by a cannon-ball toward the close of the action, was buried in his cloak on the ramparts of Corunna.<sup>2</sup> The British army embarked the same night, and sailed for home.

5. Battle of Talavera: 1809.—Sir Arthur Wellesley was then intrusted with the supreme command of the army in Portugal. Having invaded Spain, he won a great battle at Talavera, on the banks of the Tagus (July 28). For this victory he was created Viscount Wellington. But the approaches to Madrid being covered by three French armies, under Soult, Ney, and Mortier, he was obliged to fall back on the frontiers of Portugal. Austria during this year made a desperate effort to retrieve her credit; but at Wagram her power was again shattered by Napoleon, who dictated terms

Abroad.—In 1809, Russia acquired Finland and Bothnia from Sweden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Saragossa, or Zaragoza, 176 miles northest of Madrid.

<sup>2</sup> See Wolfe's famous Elegy, "The east of Madrid.

Burial of Sir John Moore."

of peace to the Emperor Francis in his palace of Schönbrunn, at Vienna. The treaty was confirmed by the marriage of Maria Louisa, daughter of Joseph II., to Napoleon, who had divorced his wife Josephine because she had borne him no children.

- 6. The Walcheren Expedition: 1809.—To aid Austria in her struggle against Napoleon, the ill-fated Walcheren expedition was sent to the coast of the Netherlands in July, by the advice of Castlereagh, the Minister at War. It comprised forty thousand men, placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham, elder brother of Pitt; while Sir Richard Strachan commanded the fleet. The object of the movement was to seize the French batteries on the Scheldt, and destroy the naval works at Antwerp; but on the marshy island of Walcheren disease swept off the troops in thousands, and only a wreck of the splendid force returned to Britain in December. Canning had objected to the Walcheren expedition long before it sailed. Acting as Foreign Secretary, he insisted on the unfitness of Viscount Castlereagh to hold the War Secretaryship, and told the Duke of Portland that unless a change were made he would Castlereagh sent a challenge to the Foreign Secretary. Both ministers resigned, and in a duel on Putney Heath Canning got a slight flesh-wound. Soon afterward Portland, the Prime Minister, resigned, and Spencer Perceval succeeded him, with the Marquis Wellesley as Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston was Secretary at War, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel held a subordinate post in the Ministry.
- 7. The Heights of Torres Vedras: 1810.—Portugal was the scene of the next Peninsular campaign. The armies of France were concentrated in that country for the purpose of driving the British to their ships; but in the Battle of Busaco (September 27) Wellington repulsed Massena with heavy loss. Then, retreating to the heights of Torres Vedras, some distance

Abroad.—In 1810, Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's generals, was appointed Crown Prince of Sweden. In 1813, he entered into an alliance with Great Britain and Russia against Napoleon. He became King in 1814, as Charles John XIV. By the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, Norway and Sweden were united.

north of Lisbon, he took up a position within lines of defence extending from the Tagus to the Atlantic, from which no efforts



of the French marshal could dislodge him. After waiting and watching for several weeks, without venturing to attack the first line, Massena retreated to Spain, leaving upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers behind him in their graves. In Spain the French troops were terribly galled and harassed by the Spanish guerillas, who fired on them from places of concealment where they could not be reached.

8. The Burdett Riots: 1810.—During the greater part of the year 1810, the citizens of London were kept in a ferment by the Burdett Riots; in connection with which the conduct of the war was mixed up with the character of the government and the need for parliamentary reform. In January the unfortunate Walcheren expedition was again discussed in the

House of Commons. This was followed by the City of London presenting an address to the King, calling for an inquiry into "the national misfortunes" at home and abroad. The address was rejected; whereupon the citizens declared this to be proof of the "shameful inadequacy of the representation of the people in the Commons' House," and voted thanks to Sir Francis Burdett, who had revived that question in 1809. Burdett then published a speech, in which he spoke contemptuously of the House of Commons. For this he was arrested amid great excitement, his house in London having to be stormed by constables before he could be captured. During all the time that Burdett was confined in the Tower (from April till June) public meetings were held in the chief towns. The prevailing discontent was increased by great commercial distress. Ireland contributed its share to the general confusion, Daniel O'Connell having this year commenced an agitation for the repeal of the Union.

- 9. The Regency: 1811.—Before the end of the year, an important constitutional question was settled by Parliament. The King's mind, long tottering, had at last given way; blindness, too, had come upon him. The appointment of a Regent became necessary. The exclusive right of the Prince of Wales to the Regency had been denied by Pitt on the occasion of the King's illness in 1788. He had maintained, in opposition to Fox, that the appointment lay with Parliament, and a Bill for the Prince's Regency was in progress, when the King recovered. (See page 138.) On this occasion the right of Parliament to settle the matter was assumed; and before the year closed, the Prince of Wales was appointed Regent, under certain restrictions as to the granting of peerages and pensions. The Prince of Wales was accordingly installed as Prince-Regent with due pomp and ceremony on the 5th February 1811.
- 10. Campaign of 1811.—Three important victories marked the fourth campaign in the Peninsula. Graham defeated

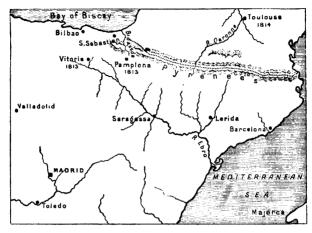
Abroad.—In 1811, the Mamelukes in Egypt (see Note 3, page 149) were slaughtered by Mehemet Ali.

Marshal Victor at Barrosa, near Cadiz (March 5). Massena was routed by Wellington at Fuentes d'Onoro, near Ciudad Rodrigo (May 5), and had to give place to Marmont. A still more sanguinary battle was fought at Albuera, near Badajoz (May 16), where Soult, marching to relieve that frontier fortress, then besieged by General Beresford, was repulsed by him with great slaughter.

- 11. The Luddites: 1811.—The long war had now begun to tell heavily on British commerce, and there were many bankruptcies in London and other cities. An ignorant prejudice against the use of machinery in the cotton manufacture also led to much distress. The Luddites—so called from Ned Lud, a half-witted boy who made himself notorious by smashing stocking-frames—began the destruction of factories at Nottingham in November. The mania soon spread to other manufacturing towns, the rioters supposing that machinery would keep them out of employment. These fanatical outbreaks continued during the next five or six years, and they were not suppressed until some of the rioters had been sent to the scaffold.
- 12. Change of Ministry: 1812.—As the Whigs had been the friends of the Prince of Wales, Earl Grenville and Earl Grey (formerly Lord Howick) fully expected to be called to office when he became Regent. They were disappointed when he resolved to retain Perceval's Ministry. An opportunity was given them of taking office under Perceval early in 1812, but they refused the offer. Lord Castlereagh then became Foreign Secretary in succession to the Marquis Wellesley, who was anxious, like Grenville and Grey, to concede the claims of the Irish Romanists. Perceval then hoped that his Ministry was thoroughly established; but on May 11, he was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons by a merchant named John Bellingham, whose business had been ruined by the war, and whose mind had become unhinged. Bellingham was executed Negotiations were opened with Wellesley, and also with Grenville; but these failed, and the Earl of Liverpool (Lord Hawkesbury) became Prime Minister, and Viscount

Castlereagh Foreign Secretary. Peel was Chief Secretary for Ireland. In this Cabinet the matter of the Catholic claims was allowed to be an open question. Canning, like Wellesley, had now declared himself willing to grant them, and carried in the House of Commons a motion in favour of considering the laws affecting Catholics by a majority of 129.

- 13. Campaign of 1812.—Holding Portugal as a base of operations on which he could at any time fall back, Wellington invaded Spain for the third time in 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, great forts which guarded the western frontier of Spain, soon fell before him. The defeat of Marmont at Salamanca, on July 22, opened the way to Madrid, into which the victor led his troops on the 12th of August amid the rejoicings of all Spain. But the approach of two French armies, marching in hot haste from the south and the east, forced him to retreat on Portugal.
- 14. Napoleon's Russian Campaign: 1812.—Meanwhile the Russians, losing faith in Napoleon's "Continental System" for excluding England from commercial relations with the Continent, declared war against France; and Napoleon undertook his great invasion of Russia with an army of 420,000 men. He penetrated the vast territory of the Czars to its very heart; but the flames of Moscow, kindled in self-defence by the Russians, drove him back. In all history there is nothing more appalling than the story of his retreat over the snow-covered plains. In this disastrous expedition, 200,000 Frenchmen perished, and 100,000 were left behind as prisoners.
- 15. Peninsular Campaign of 1813-14.—Step by step the French eagles were driven towards and then across the Pyrenees. The decisive battle was fought at Vittoria in Biscay, where Wellington defeated King Joseph on June 21. The capture of San Sebastian and Pampeluna speedily followed; and the victorious Wellington, crossing the Bidassoa, the frontier stream, entered France. On the 10th of April 1814 he scattered the remnant of Soult's army in the Battle of Toulouse. Six days earlier, Napoleon had abdicated the throne of France. In the preceding October he had been routed in the great Battle of Leipzig



—"the battle of the nations," which lasted three days—and followed to Paris by a victorious host of Russians, Swedes, Germans, Austrians, and Prussians. Louis XVI.'s brother, the Count of Provence, now returned to Paris as Louis XVIII. Ferdinand VII. was received as King at Madrid. On the 30th of May 1814, there was signed the First Treaty of Paris, by which the boundaries of France reverted to what they were at the beginning of 1792, while Great Britain retained Malta, Tobago, and other conquests. The fallen Emperor retired to the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean.

16. War with the United States: 1812-14.—During the later years of the struggle, Great Britain had had a serious difference with the United States of America. The quarrel grew out of Napoleon's Continental System. In 1808, America had replied both to the Berlin Decree and to the Orders in Council, by passing the Non-Intercourse Act, which put an end to the American trade both of Great Britain and of France. The right of search for deserters from the navy, claimed by the British, aggravated the ill-feeling of the Americans. In 1811 Napoleon made concessions which led to the repeal of the Non-Intercourse Act in relation to France. But the British Ministry would yield nothing, and war was

declared in June 1812. An invasion of Canada by the Americans failed. The English captured Washington, and burned the public buildings. The most striking incident of the war, however, was the ocean duel between the English Shannon and the American Chesapeake, in which the latter, though the larger vessel, was boarded and taken in fifteen minutes (June 1, 1813). The Treaty of Ghent (December 1814) put an end to the war without settling the points in dispute. After peace had been concluded, but before the news of it reached America, the British were repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt to take New Orleans (1815).

17. The Duke of Wellington.—For his great services in the Peninsula, Wellington was made a Duke, was publicly thanked by the Houses of Parliament, and received a grant of £400,000. The allied sovereigns visited England in June 1814. Towards the close of the year, a Congress met at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe, which were in great disorder after a war so long and so costly. Great Britain was represented at the Congress by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington.

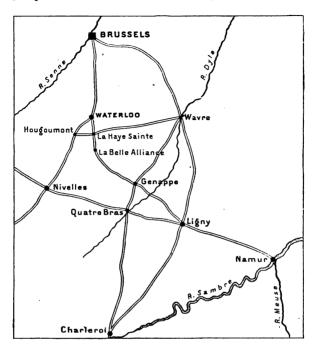
## CHAPTER XXII.—RENEWAL AND CLOSE OF THE WAR.

1. Return of Napoleon to Paris: 1815.—The deliberations of the Vienna Congress were suddenly interrupted in March 1815, by the news that Napoleon had quitted Elba. He landed on the 1st of March on the coast of Provence, in the south-east of France, and marched rapidly on Paris. His marshals hastened to his side. The French soldiers, despising the government of the Bourbons, flocked in thousands around his banner. In twenty days after his landing, he once more held the capital and the throne of France. Louis XVIII. fled to Ghent. All Europe was alarmed and enraged at this daring disregard of treaties and of oaths. The British Parliament voted a budget of £90,000,000 for the overthrow of the usurper. The Duke of Wellington took the command of 80,000 troops.

Blücher marshalled 110,000 Prussians for the campaign. Austria and Russia prepared to invade France on the eastern frontier with enormous armies. Before May, the different Powers were ready to put in the field armies amounting to one million men. All offers of negotiation from Napoleon were unheeded, and his only hope lay in instant action.

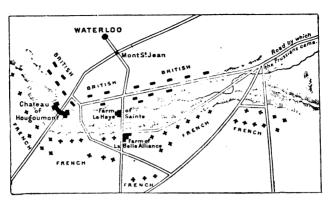
- 2. Quatre Bras and Ligny.—Wellington arranged to join the Prussian army in Belgium, and thence to march rapidly on Paris from the north-east. Napoleon, resolving if possible to prevent this union, crossed the French frontier at Charleroi, on The British lav then at Brussels: the the 15th of June. Prussians were at Ligny, some miles nearer the frontier. Wellington received the news of the French advance on the afternoon of the 15th. In the ball-room of the Duchess of Richmond<sup>1</sup> a hurried whisper passed round among the officers; and at daybreak on the 16th the British army began to pour out of Brussels toward Quatre Bras, an important point twenty miles southward, where two roads crossed. There they were attacked by Marshal Ney, who strove without success to force the position. But on the same day Napoleon drove the Prussians from Ligny in the direction of Wavre, and sent Grouchy in pursuit with 35,000 men, to cut them off from a union with the army of Wellington. This defeat of the Prussians obliged Wellington to fall back on the village of Waterloo, about ten miles south of Brussels. Blücher was distant from him nearly a day's march; and Napoleon exulted in the prospect of victory, for he had got, as he thought, between the allied armies, and all that now remained was to defeat them in turn.
- 3. The Position at Waterloo.—The Battle of Waterloo—called by the French St. Jean <sup>2</sup>—was fought on Sunday, June 18. During the previous night rain had fallen in torrents, and when the troops rose from their cheerless bivouac among the crushed and muddy rye, a drizzling shower still fell. The armies faced each other on two gentle slopes, across which ran

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Byron's "Field of Waterloo" | <sup>2</sup> St. Jean, from Mont St. Jean, a slight (Childe Harold, canto iii.).



the highroad to Brussels. The army of Wellington numbered 70,000, that of Napoleon about 80,000 men. Between, in a slight hollow, lay the farm-house La Haye Sainte; and on an angle of the northern slope, serving as a key to the British position, was Hougoumont, an old red-brick chateau. Around these buildings the severest fighting took place.

4. The Struggle at Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte.—Shortly after eleven o'clock—when the morning service was beginning in the churches at home—the first shot was fired from the British guns. The French artillery replied, and then followed such a cannonade as had never been heard on battlefield before. The French battalions dashed on Hougoumont, which was held by the British Guards. Round this chateau the battle raged furiously for hours. The French took the wood and broke the gate to pieces, but could not withstand the withering



PLAN OF THE BATTLE-FIELD.

fire from the house and the rain of shells from the British howitzers. Marshal Ney led several columns against La Haye Sainte, and made a temporary lodgment there, the Germans who occupied it having used all their ammunition; but this success came too late to be of any use. The circumstance which gave Waterloo a special character was the trial of strength between the "rocky squares" of British infantry and the torrents of French horse. When the latter had almost spent their force in frequent charges, the British cavalry dashed at a sweeping gallop into the hollow, and literally rode over the lancers and cuirassiers, who had been vainly flinging themselves on the squares all day.

5. Repulse of the "Old Guard."—About four in the afternoon, the head of the Prussian column under Bulow began to emerge from the wood to the eastward. Attacking the right flank of the French position, they obliged Napoleon to risk his last desperate throw for the game, then all but lost. This was the advance of the "Old Guard," which had been kept in reserve in the rear of the French lines. As far as the foot of the British position Napoleon led these veterans, who had never failed him yet. "There, gentlemen," he said, pointing to the British lines, "there is the way to Brussels." He had seen his powerful artillery foiled, his splendid cavalry broken; but he

still trusted in the Old Guard. On they went under Ney's command up the face of the ridge near La Haye Sainte. On the top of the ridge, the British Guards under Maitland, and the brigade of Adams, arranged four deep by Wellington himself, lay on the ground, awaiting the attack. When the French were within fifty yards of the top, the British started to their feet and levelled their muskets. Then there was poured in a fire so terrible and so well directed that the columns, galled on their flanks by other attacks, became mixed in the act of trying to deploy, and were driven in rout down the hill. "They are mixed!" cried the fallen Corsican, as he rode away to the rear.

- 6. The Victory.—"Let the whole line advance!" was Wellington's final order, as he galloped to the front. great mass, which with patient resolution had stood on the plateau since early morning with scarce a murmur, now swept grandly forward-infantry, horse, and guns in one imposing rush, which carried every French position, and drove the relics of the Grand Army along wreck-strewn roads toward the frontier of France. During the three eventful days (June 16, 17, 18) 40,000 French, 16,000 Prussians, 13,000 British and Germans were killed. Wellington could scarcely restrain his emotion as he rode over the plain by moonlight; but who can tell the thoughts of the fallen despot, as he fled from the fatal field! Paris, where he abdicated in favour of his son; Rochefort, on the west coast of France, whence he tried to escape to America; the Roads of Aix, where, on the quarter-deck of the Bellerophon, he cast himself on the mercy of the British; the lonely rock of St. Helena, where for six years he dwelt imprisoned by the Atlantic waves,—these were the last scenes in the history of Napoleon I. He died on the 5th of May 1821. and in 1840 his remains were removed to France.
- 7. The Second Treaty of Paris: 1815.—Before Waterloo was fought—on the 9th of June 1815—the Congress of Vienna had marked on the map of Europe the changed lines which were to follow the fall of Napoleon. This Treaty of Settlement was followed in November (20th) by the Second Treaty of Paris,

which was signed by Wellington and Castlereagh on the part of Great Britain. By these treaties the Empire of France, distended far beyond its natural limits by the ambition of Napoleon, collapsed into a kingdom similar in size to that of 1792, and Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne. Thus ended a war during which Great Britain had made gigantic efforts. The National Debt, which at the end of the Seven Years' War (1763) was £139,000,000, and at the end of the American War (1783) was £268,000,000, had now reached the enormous sum of £880,000,000. But fast as the debt grew, still faster grew the wealth of the cotton-mills, where steam-power had come to the aid of the spinning-frame and the handloom. Without these it might have been impossible for Great Britain to bear the long-continued strain and the heavy burden.

8. Distress at Home: 1815.—The Proclamation of Peace was followed by great distress in the British Isles. When the excitement of the war was over, people had time to consider its consequences, and were forced to feel them. Commerce was almost completely stagnant. The weight of taxation was excessive. Food was scarce, and therefore dear. little demand for labour, and therefore wages were low. Nevertheless, the Government, in order to favour the English farmers and land-owners, passed a Corn Act, forbidding the importation of foreign grain until the price of wheat had reached eighty shillings per quarter. This led to riots in the larger towns, which were attended with great destruction of property, especially of machinery, and in some cases with loss of life. arose the cry for a reform of the House of Commons, with universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. Political societies

Abroad.—In 1815, the Congress of Vienna met and formed the Germanic Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President. Lombardy, Milan, and Venice were annexed to Austria; which also became the protector of Tuscany, Lucca, and the other states of Northern Italy. Sardinia recovered Piedmont and Savoy, which had been annexed to France in 1801. The King of Sicily recovered Naples.

In 1815, Great Britain assumed the complete sovereignty of the island of Ceylon, which had been ceded to her by the Peace of Amiens in 1802.

called "Hampden Clubs" were formed all over the country, that in London being presided over by Sir Francis Burdett. The writings of William Cobbett the journalist, who had begun life as a ploughman, had great influence with the tradesmen and labourers of England, whose champion he proclaimed himself to be. The Ministry, influenced by Lord Castlereagh, stood firm in resisting all change.

- 9. Agitation for Reform.—The agitation thus resumed, which continued during the next seventeen years, had been in progress before the war began. While the war lasted, the public mind was occupied by that to the exclusion of nearly every other subject; but when peace came, the question of reform was reopened with all the more keenness because of the national distress and the wide-spread discontent. Ever since the reign of Queen Anne, the ascendency of the House of Commons had been undoubted; but the complaint was that that House did not represent the nation. The influence of the Crown, of the Ministry for the time being, and of the chief land-owners, was so great that a large proportion of the representation was in their hands. As has been already noticed, the younger Pitt was one of the first to raise the question; but the excesses of the French Revolution frightened him, and led him to abandon reform. The subject was again raised by Sir Francis Burdett in 1810, but it was not till the close of the war that the question really aroused the nation.
- 10. Excitement in the country: 1817.—The price of wheat continued to rise steadily after the peace. It reached its maximum (96s. 11d. per quarter) in 1817—a year of gloom and distress. The Prince-Regent was fired at when returning from the opening of Parliament. No fewer than 600 petitions for reform—some of them with 30,000 signatures each—were sent to Parliament. In spite of a Royal Proclamation against rioting and unlawful assemblages, both riots and seditious meetings increased. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; but the

(898)

Abroad.—In 1816, Algiers (North Africa) was bombarded by Lord Exmouth. The Dey or Governor surrendered, and agreed to set free all Christian slaves, and to seize no more. Algiers was annexed by France in 1830.

riots still continued, and at Derby three of the ringleaders were executed. In May, Burdett introduced in the House of Commons a motion for reform. It obtained only 77 supporters, while 265 voted for its rejection. Towards the end of the year the death of the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Regent, and wife of Prince Leopold, afterwards King of the Belgians, caused deep national sorrow, and revived for a time the loyalty of the people. The death of this amiable princess caused anxiety as to the succession. The only other married son of George III. was the Duke of Cumberland, and he was extremely unpopular. Three other sons, however, married in 1818; and the daughter of one of them—the Duke of Kent—in the course of time succeeded to the throne as Queen Victoria.

- 11. "Peterloo:" 1819.—During the next two years the excitement and the discontent continued to spread. In 1818, Burdett's resolution for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments obtained only two votes in the House of Commons. A crisis came in 1819. Riots by the unemployed were common in the manufacturing towns. Public meetings in favour of Parliamentary Reform were held everywhere. A great meeting held at Smithfield was watched by the military and by 6,000 "special constables." In St. Peter's Field, Manchester, 100,000 persons assembled to petition for reform. They were dispersed by the military, but not until several had been killed and hundreds wounded. The affair was derisively called the "Battle of Peterloo."
- 12. The Six Acts: 1819.—For writing a letter condemning the "Manchester massacre," Sir Francis Burdett was fined £2,000, and was imprisoned for three months. Parliament met in November, and passed Six Acts restricting public liberty. The specific objects of these Acts were—(1) to secure the more speedy execution of justice; (2) to prevent military training; (3) to punish profane and seditious libels; (4) for the seizing of arms; (5) for the repressing of libels; (6) to prevent seditious meetings and assemblies. An unusually severe winter added greatly to the sufferings of the poor.
  - 13. Death and Character of George III.: 1820.—On the

23rd January 1820, the Duke of Kent died; and on the 29th the old King, blind as well as insane, also breathed his last. His age was eighty-one, and his reign of sixty years was the longest in the long list of English Sovereigns. The third George was good-natured and honest, and his personal character was irreproachable. There was much simplicity in the homely life he and his queen were fond of leading—a life which gained for him the familiar name of "Farmer George." His faults were love of power and selfishness. The former led him to overrule the policy of his ministers, and to dismiss them from office when they displeased him. The latter led him to seek for the aggrandizement of the Crown.

14. The Constitution.—George III. came to the throne with the determination of being an actual ruler-master both of the Ministry and of Parliament. He strove to get rid of the system of responsible government under which the Ministry was dependent on the House of Commons, and therefore he chose his own ministers, and dismissed or rejected those who displeased him. In 1761, he insisted that his favourite, Lord Bute, should be admitted to the Ministry, and a Secretary of State had to retire to give him a place. In the following year he forced Newcastle to retire, and made Bute Prime Minister. He dismissed Lord Rockingham and the Old Whigs while they had still the support of the Commons (1766). He kept Lord North in power long after his coercive policy in America had lost the support of the House of Commons and of the He kept Pitt in power in defiance of the House of Commons (1783-84); but this was justified by the large majority for Pitt in the new Parliament. In 1783, he ordered the House of Lords, with threats, to reject Fox's India Bill, and the Lords did so. He forced Pitt to resign in 1801 by refusing to allow him to introduce a Catholic Relief Bill. allowed Pitt to return to power in 1804, on condition that he dropped the question of the Catholic claims. At the same time he positively refused to allow Fox to enter the Pitt Ministry, because

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Thackeray's "Four Georges," Lecture III.

of his sympathy with the French Revolution. In 1807 he dismissed the Grenville Ministry, because they refused to pledge themselves not to revive the Catholic claims. The King thus placed the Crown above the Ministry and above Parliament.

George adopted other methods of asserting his power. In 1762, the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and Buckingham were deprived of their Lord-Lieutenancies for expressing disapproval of the Preliminary Articles of Fontainebleau, accepted by Bute's Ministry, while the Duke of Devonshire's name was struck off the list of the Privy Council by the King's hand. In 1763, several members of Parliament who held public offices were dismissed from the latter because of their votes. In 1780, the Earls of Caermarthen and Pembroke were deprived of their Lord-Lieutenancies for supporting Shelburne's motion for an inquiry into the public expenditure. In 1798, Fox's name was struck off the list of the Privy Council, because he moved for the repeal of the Treason and Sedition Acts of 1795.

These encroachments and arbitrary measures of the Crown were not allowed to pass without protest. In 1780, the House of Commons adopted Dunning's motion, "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." In 1807, motions were introduced declaring "that ministers ought not to bind themselves by any pledge as to what advice they shall give the King;" and "that it is impossible for the King to act without advice." These motions were defeated; but the fact that they were brought forward, and were supported even by a minority, was significant.

The truth is, that the character of the House of Commons, and the state of the representation, made a wholesome system of responsible government impossible. There was an open traffic in seats. In 1774, Gatton was sold for £75,000. The price of a small borough was £4,000. When seats and votes were bought and sold, and when the House represented a few great landlords, and not the mass of the people, the fact that a minister had a majority at a given time proved nothing as to the direction or the weight of public opinion. King George saw, as clearly as any man, the evil of the Commons being in

the pay of the Whig Lords; but he set himself to cure the evil by getting the Commons into his own pay.

The only effective cure for the combined evils lay in a complete reform of the representation—such an extension of the franchise, and such a redistribution of seats, as would make the House of Commons truly representative of the people, and place its members beyond the reach of bribery. Pitt was one of the first men to see this. He moved resolutions in favour of reform soon after entering Parliament, and after he became Prime Minister he proposed to get rid of the "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs by purchasing seventy-two seats from their owners with public money (1785). The motion was rejected, and Pitt did not again touch the question. The excesses of the French Revolution made him distrust the people, and postponed the question for a generation. The cause of reform was afterwards taken up by Mr. Charles Grey (afterwards Lord Grey) and Sir Francis Burdett, and at the close of the reign by Lord John Russell. Two of these men, Grev and Russell, were the authors of the Reform Act of 1832.

Other questions of importance raised in connection with reform of the representation were Economical Reform, urged by Burke (1780-81), Roman Catholic Emancipation (supported by Pitt, Grenville, Canning, and Grattan), and the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (supported by Beaufoy).

Some minor reforms were, however, adopted during the reign. In 1762, a Bribery Act was passed, attaching pecuniary penalties to the offence. In 1770, George Grenville passed an Act transferring the hearing of election petitions from the House of Commons, as a whole, to a committee of thirteen, selected from forty-nine members chosen by ballot, with a nominee from each side of the House. In the following year the right to publish Parliamentary debates was established. An attempt had been made to prevent their publication, but it was foiled by Alderman Wilkes and the Lord Mayor. An important point was also settled in connection with the law of libel. In the trial of the publisher of the "Letters of Junius," Lord Mansfield ruled that the jury had the right to determine only the

fact of publication, and not whether it was a libel. In 1792, Fox's Libel Act was passed, allowing the jury to decide what constituted a libel, as well as the fact of publication. In 1780, a great petition from Yorkshire in favour of Economical Reform was received by the House of Commons, and thus the right of petitioning Parliament was established. Important changes were made on the Civil List (the Parliamentary grant to the Sovereign for the royal household, personal expenses, etc.) by Lord Rockingham's Act in 1782. Useless offices were abolished. Pensions were restricted, and secret pensions were no longer allowed. In 1782, persons holding Government contracts were disqualified for sitting in the House of Commons, and revenue officers were disfranchised.

A Bill was passed in 1784 limiting to fifteen days the time during which the poll at a Parliamentary election could be kept open. Previously the poll might be open for forty days. The change was made in consequence of the disgraceful scenes at the Westminster election, when more votes were given than therewere voters. No return was made by the high bailiff, and Fox, though at the head of the poll, was excluded from Parliament.

Since 1785 the Parliamentary session has begun in January or February, instead of in the autumn. About the same time the two Secretaries of State began to be distinguished as "Home Secretary" and "Foreign Secretary." They had previously had jurisdiction over the north and the south of the kingdom respectively, foreign affairs also being divided between them. In 1794 a third Secretaryship of State was established—that of "Secretary for War"—in addition to the existing office of "Secretary at War," which became a Parliamentary Under-Secretaryship. In 1801, the Colonies (managed since 1782 by the Home Office) were added to the work of the War Secretary.

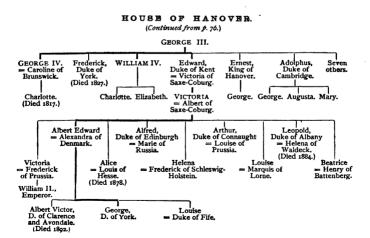
The Royal Marriage Act, passed in 1772, has a bearing on the Constitution. By it no descendant of George II. can make a legal marriage without the consent of the reigning Sovereign, unless he or she is over twenty-five years of age, and has given twelve months' notice to the Privy Council, and unless Parliament has not petitioned against the marriage.

The Regency Act of 1811 also settled an important point, namely, the power of Parliament to determine who should be Regent. When the question was raised for the first time in 1788, Pitt and Fox took opposite sides, the former supporting the right of Parliament, the latter maintaining the "inherent right" of the heir-apparent. Pitt's view was adopted by Parliament in 1811.

The most important Act of the reign was that effecting the Legislative Union of Ireland with Great Britain (1800). The first Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom met on January 22, 1801.

The Treasonable Practices Act and the Seditious Meetings Act were passed in 1795, as a means of checking the agitation for reform stimulated by the French Revolution. In 1798, Pitt imposed an income-tax of 10 per cent. on incomes over £200. (The last occasion on which such a tax had been levied was by the Parliament at the beginning of the Civil War, December 1642).

In 1819 the Six Acts were passed, to prevent seditious meetings, blasphemous publications, and the possession of arms.



#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- 1763. The Treaty of Paris (Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal) — George Grenville Prime Minister.
- 1765. The American Stamp Act passed—Lord Rockingham Prime Minister.
- 1766. Repeal of the American Stamp Act—The Grafton-Chatham Ministry.
- 1767. Taxes imposed on American imports.
- 1769. The "Letters of Junius" appeared—Wilkes elected member for Middlesex four times— Not admitted.
- 1770. Lord North Prime Minister.
- 1771. Publication of debates in Parliament al-
- 1772. The Royal Marriage Act passed.
- 1773. Nath's Regulating Act for India passed— The tea-ships emptied in Boston Harbour.
- 1774. American colonists held Philadelphia Congress.
- 1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
- 1776. Declaration of Independence by the United States.
- 1777. Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.
- 1778. Death of Lord Chatham—Savile's Act for the Relief of Roman Catholics.
- 1779. Great Siege of Gibraltar begun: till 1782. 1780. Great petition from Yorkshire for Econ-
- omical Reform—The Gordon Riots against Roman Catholics.
- 1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
- 1782. Rockingham Prime Minister An independent Parliament (Grattan's) granted to Ireland—Lord Shelburne Prime Minister—Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- 1783. Treaties of Paris (Great Britain and United States) and Versailles (Great Britain, France, and Spain)—Duke of Portland Prime Minister — William Pitt Prime Minister— Pitt's India Bill passed.
- 1788. Discussion as to Regency Bill.
- 1789. Beginning of the French Revolution.
  1791. Formation of the "United Irishmen"—
- Canada divided into two Provinces.
- 1792. Fox's Libel Bill passed, giving the press the protection of juries.
- 1793. War with France declared—Pitt's First Coalition (Great Britain, Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia).
- 1795. Prussia, Spain, and Holland left the Coalition—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Treasonable Practices Act and Seditious Meetings Act passed—Acquittal of Warren Hastings.
- 1796. Failure of French expedition to Ireland. 1797. British victory at Cape St. Vincent—
- Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore—British victory at Camperdown.

- 1798. British victory at the Nile—Rebellion in Ireland—Vinegar Hill.
- 1799. Pitt's Second Coalition (Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, etc.)—Capture of Seringapatam.
- 1800. Malta taken from the French.
- 1801. Irish Parliamentary Union—First Imperial Parliament — Addington Prime Minister — British victory at Alexandria—Danish fleet destroyed off Copenhagen.
- 1802. Treaty of Amiens (Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland).
- 1803. War renewed with France—British victory at Assaye.
- 1804. William Pitt Prime Minister—Spain declared war.
- 1805. Failure of Napoleon's projected invasion of England — Pitt's Third Coalition (Great Britain, Russia, Austria, etc.)—British victory at Trafalgar—Death of Nelson.
- 1806. Death of Pitt—"All the Talents" Ministry—Grenville and Fox—Death of Fox—Napoleon's Berlin Decree issued.
- 1807. British Orders in Council issued—Abolition of the slave trade—Duke of Portland Prime Minister—Bombardment of Copenhagen.
  1808. Beginning of Peninsular War—British vic-
- tory at Vimiero—Convention of Cintra.
- 1809. British victory at Corunna and Talavera
  —Failure of the Walcheren expedition—
  Perceval Prime Minister.
- British victory at Busaco—Lines of Torres Vedras,
- 1811. The Prince of Wales Regent—British victories at Barrosa—Fuentes D'Onero and Albuera—Luddite Riots.
- 1812. Storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—Assassination of Perceval—Lord Liverpool Prime Minister—The United States declare war—British victory at Salamanca.
- 1813. British victories at Vittoria, the Pyrenees, St. Sebastian, and Pampeluna.
- 1814. British victory at Toulouss—First Treaty of Paris—Vienna Congress—Treaty of Ghent (Great Britain and the United States).
- 1815. Escape of Napoleon from Elba—Overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo.
- 1815. Second Treaty of Paris.
- 1816. Distress and rioting in England.
- 1817. The Prince-Regent fired upon—Habeas Corpus Act suspended—Act against Seditious Meetings passed.
- 1819. Birth of the Princess Alexandrina Victoria — Manchester Reform Meeting — The Six Acts passed.
- 1820. Death of George III.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

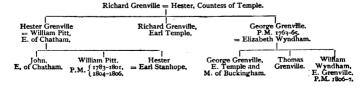
- Henry Addington, Speaker, 1789; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1801-4; Baron Sidmouth, 1805; Home Secretary, 1812-20.
- Duke of Bedford (John Russell), head of one of the sections of the Whig party Lord President of the Council, 1763-65; died, 1771.
- Mapoleon Bonaparte, born, 1769; at siege of Toulon, 1793; commanded in Italy, victory at Lodi, 1796; took Malta, commanded in Egypt and Syria, 1798; First Consul, 1799; crossed the Alps, victory at Marengo, 1800; Consul for Life, 1802; Emperor, 1804; King of Italy, victory at Austerlits, 1805; victory at Jena, Berlin Decree, 1806; occupied Rome, entered Madrid, 1808; victory at Wagram, divorced Josephine, 1809; married Maria Louiss, 1810; Russian campaign, 1812; defeated at Leipzig, 1813; abdicated, and went to Elba, 1814; escaped, defeated at Waterloo, sent to St. Helema, 1815; died there, 1821.
- Edmund Burké, Private Secretary to Rockingham, 1765; M.P. for Wendover, 1765; Paymaster of the Forces, 1782; again, 1783-84; impeached Warren Hastings, 1786; quarrel with Fox, 1790; publication of "Reflections on the Revolution in France," 1790; separated from the Whigs, 1791; retired from Parliament, 1794; wrote "Letters on a Regicide Peace," 1796; ided, 1797.
- Earl of Bute (John Stuart), favourite of George III.; Secretary of State, 1761; Prime Minister, 1762; became unpopular, and resigned, 1763; died. 1792.
- Viscount Castlereagh (Robert Stewart), sat in Irish Parliament as M.P. for Down, 1790; supported the coercive measures of the Government, 1795; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1798; advocated the Union, 1799-1800; M.P. for Down, President of Board of Control, 1801-4; Secretary at War, 1804-6; again, 1807; sent out Walcheren expedition; dual with Canning, 1809; Poreign Secretary, 1812; British Plenipotentiary at Vienna Congress, 1815; unpopular; Marquis of Londonderry, 1821; committed suicide, 1832.
- Robert Clive, made Baron Clive of Plassey, 1761; Governor of Bengal, 1765; final return to England, 1767; inquiry into his conduct, 1773; died by suicide, 1774.
- Marquis Cornwallis (Tharles Cornwallis), victory over Gates at Camden, 1780; surrendered at Yorktown, 1781; Governor-General of India, 1786; conquered Tipoo Sahib, 1792; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1798-1801; Governor-General of India, 1804; died there, 1805.
- Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., died, 1765.
- Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate, 1775; Treasurer of the Navy, 1782, 1783, 1784-88; President

- of the Board of Centrol, Home Secretary, 1791; War Secretary, 1794-1801; created Viscount Melville, 1802; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1804; charged with peculation and impeached, 1806; tried and acquitted, 1806; died, 1811.
- Charles James Fox, third son of Lord Holland, born, 1749; M.P. for Medhurst, 1768; a Lord of the Treasury, 1773; dismissed by order of the King; joined the Whigs, 1774; Foreign Secretary, 1782; again, 1783; India Bill rejected by Lords, 1783; M.P. for Westminster, 1784; quarrel with Burke, 1790: withdrew from politics, 1797-1802; reelected for Westminster, 1802; Foreign Secretary, 1806; died, 1806.
- Henry Fox, Paymaster of the Forces in 1760: Lord Holland, 1763; resigned, 1765; died, 1774.
- Duke of Grafton (Augustus Henry Fitzroy), Secretary of State, 1765-66; Prime Minister, 1766-70; attacked by Junius, 1769-71; Lord Privy Seal, 1782-83; died, 1811.
- Henry Grattan, entered Iriah Parliament, 1775; secured the independence of the Iriah Parliament, 1782; advocated Catholic emancipation, 1791; opposed the rebellion, 1798; opposed the Union, 1799-1800; entered the Imperial Parliament, 1805; died, 1820.
- George Grenville, brother-in-law of Chatham, Becretary of State and leader of the Commons, 1762; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1763; resigned, 1765; died, 1770.
- William Wyndham, Earl Grenville, third son of George Grenville, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1789; Home Secretary, 1789; created Baron, 1790; passed Act for Removal of Aliens, 1793; Foreign Secretary, 1791-1801; supported Catholic Emancipation, 1801; Prime Minister ("All the Talents"), 1806-7; separated from the Whiss, 1817.
- Charles Grey, Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey), M.P. for Northumberland, joined Fox and the Whigs, 1786; a member of the "Friends of the People," 1793; moved a plan of Parliamentary reform, 1797; Lord Howick and First Lord of the Admiralty, 1806; Foreign Secretary and leader of the Commons, 1806; Earl Grey, 1807.
- Warren Hastings, Member of Council in India, 1761; Governor-General of British India, 1774-85; impeachment carried, 1786; trial 1795; died, 1818.
- Marquis de la Fayette, French soldier, born, 1757; a volunteer in the American army, 1777; employed in America, 1780-81; promoted the French Revolution, 1789; became unpopular, 1792; imprisoned in Austria, 1792; opposed Bonaparte, 1802-4; promoted the revolution of 1830; died, 1834.

- Earl of Liverpool (Robert Banks Jenkinson), Lord Hawkesbury, 1796; Foreign Secretary, 1801-4; Home Secretary, 1806-6; again, 1807-9; Earl of Liverpool, 1808; Prime Minister, 1812-27; died, 1828.
- Sir John Moore, served in West Indies, 1796-7; in Ireland, 1798; in Holland, 1799; in Egypt, 1801; in Sweden and in Spain, 1808; killed at Corunna, 1809.
- Horatio Nelson, born, 1768; commanded the "Agamemnon" in the Mediterranean,1793; lost an eye at Calvi, Corsica, 1794; at 8t. Vincent, 1797; made Rear-Admiral, 1797; lost right arm at Santa Cruz, 1797; victory at the Nile, 1798; Baron Nelson, 1798; bombardment of Copenhagen, 1801; Viscount Nelson, 1801; victory and death at Trafalgar, 1806.
- Duke of Newcastle, Prime Minister in 1760; resigned, 1762; deprived of Lord-Lieutenancy, 1763; Lord Privy Seal, 1765; died, 1768.
- Frederick Lord North, in Grenville Ministry, 1763: in Rockingham Ministry, 1765-65: Chancelor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons, 1767; Prime Minister, 1770-82; Home Secretary in Portland Ministry, 1783; Earl of Guilford, 1799; died, 1792.
- Spencer Perceval, Solicitor-General 1801; Attorney-General, 1802-6; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1807; Prime Minister, 1809; ahot by Bellingham, 1812.
- William Pitt, Secretary of State, resigned, 1761; Lord Chatham and Lord Privy Seal, 1766; resigned on account of ill health, 1768; opposed coercion of the American colonists, 1775; opposed motion to recognize the independence of the United States; died, 1778.
- William Pitt, second son of Lord Chatham, born, 1759; M.P. for Appleby, 1780; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1782-83; Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1783-1801; Prime Minister, 1804-6; died, 1806.
- Duke of Portland (William Henry Cavendish Bentinck), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1782; Prime Minister, 1783; Home Secretary, 1794, Lord President, 1801; Prime Minister, 1807-9; died, 1809.

- Marquis of Bockingham (Charles Watson Wentworth), First Lord of the Treasury, 1765-1766; again, 1782; died, 1782.
- Earl of Shelburne (William Petty), Secretary of State, 1766-88; Foreign Secretary, 1782; Prime Minister, 1782-83; Marquis of Lansdowne, 1784; died, 1785.
- Richard Brinsley Sheridan, M.P. ter Stafford, 1780: Under-Secretary of State, 1782; Secretary of the Treasury, 1783; Treasurer of the Navy, 1806-7; wrote "The Rivals" and other comedies, 1775-79; speech against Warren Hastings, 1787; died, 1816.
- Earl Temple (Richard Grenville), brother-inlaw of Chatham, Lord Privy Seal, 1757-61; died, 1779.
- Charles Townshend, Secretary at War, 1761; Paymaster-General, 1765; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1766; died, 1767.
- George Washington, born in Virginia, 1733; major in militia, 1751; Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial Army, 1775; \$\frac{2}{3}\$ restreadent of the United States, 1798; re-elected, 1793; retired, 1797; died, 1799.
- Sir Arthur Wellesley, fourth son of the Earl of Mornington, born, 1769; entered the army, 1767; served in Holland, 1794; wont to India, 1797; first victory at Assaye, 1803; returned to England, 1805; Secretary for Ireland, 1807; went to Portugal, victory at Vimiero, 1806; victory at Talavera, 1809; Viscount Wellington, 1809; occupied lines of Torres Vedras, 1810; stormed Ciudad Rodrigo, Earl of Wellington, stormed Badajoz, victory at Salamanca, Marquis of Wellington, 1812; victory at Toulouse, Duke of Wellington, 1814; at Vienna Congress, 1815; victory at Waterley, 1815.
- William Wilberforce, M.P. for Hull, 1786; advocated abolition of the slave trade, 1789-1807.
- John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury. 1787; published "North Ertton, No. 45," 1782; expelled from Commons, 1764; elected for Middlesex four times, and excluded, 1768-69; Lord Mayor, and again elected for Middlesex, and admitted, 1774; the records of his exclusion expunged, 1782; died, 1797.

### THE PITTS AND THE GRENVILLES.



# REIGNS OF GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV. (HANOVER).

1820-1837.

## CHAPTER XXIII.—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

- 1. The Cato Street Conspiracy: 1820.—George IV., who had already ruled for nine years as Prince-Regent, now became King. A few days after his accession, a plot to murder the ministers, when they were assembled at an official dinner, was discovered by the police. The leader of the conspiracy was Thistlewood, a desperate fellow, who had already been a year in jail for challenging Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary. After the murder, the prisons were to be broken open, London was to be set on fire, and a revolution accomplished. On the very evening fixed for the crime, the police came suddenly on the conspirators in a hayloft in Cato Street, near the Edgeware Road, London. A desperate scuffle ensued, in which a policeman was killed; but the capture was made. Thistlewood and four others were executed; the rest were transported. This plot discredited the honest reformers, and caused a reaction in the country. A slight rising about the same time at Kilsyth, between Glasgow and Stirling, was soon suppressed. Three men were executed and sixteen were transported for their connection with this affair.
- 2. Questions of the Day.—The depressed state of commerce still caused much anxiety and suffering in the large towns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George IV., son of George III. and Charlotte Sophia. Born, 1762. Married, 1795, Caroline of Brunswick. Issue, the Princess Charlotte, who died November 6, 1817.

Mercantile men complained of the restrictions to which trade was subjected by such laws as the Corn Act of 1815 (see page 176); and petitions with this burden began to pour into the House of Commons. Thus, side by side with the demand for Parliamentary Reform, there arose a demand for Free Trade. A third question which agitated the public mind at the same time was Roman Catholic Emancipation. The cause had been taken up by Canning in 1812; and in nearly every session since that year a Relief Bill had been introduced, and had been thrown out by very narrow majorities.

3. Queen Caroline: 1820-21.—Shortly after the King's accession, popular excitement found a new channel, in connection with his attempt to obtain a divorce from his wife, Caroline of Brunswick, to whom he had been married in 1795. They had never agreed, and had soon separated. During the Regency she had lived in Italy. When her husband became King, she hastened to England to claim the honours due to a Queen, especially as she learned that her name had been omitted in the Litany. On the 6th of July 1820, a Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought into the House of Lords, charging her with flagrant misconduct. Canning resigned his office and went abroad, rather than take any part in supporting The Queen was ably defended by Brougham and Denman: and on the 10th of November the Bill was abandoned, to the great joy of the people, the majority of whom took her part, from a feeling that, however bad she might have been, the King's conduct had been more glaringly immoral. In the following year she went to the door of Westminster Abbey on the day of her husband's coronation; but she was refused admittance by order of the King. She sank under this blow, and nineteen days later she died. Even around her coffin, as

Abroad.—In 1820, a revolution broke out in Spain. The free constitution of 1812 was revived, and sworn to by Ferdinand VII., who had been restored in 1814. But the French sent Ferdinand help, and a despotic government was re-established. On the death of Ferdinand in 1833, his daughter, Isabella II., succeeded. Her uncle, Don Carlos, claimed the throne, and war raged for several years; but at last Isabella, with British aid, secured the throne in 1843.

it was borne from London to Harwich, there was deadly strife between the soldiers and the people. In the same month in which his wife died, the King visited Ireland, where he was received with joy, as the first British King who had paid a visit of peace to the island.

- 4. Opposition to Reform: 1821-22.—Neither the prevailing distress nor the threatening attitude of a large section of the people had any effect on the Government or on Parliament. In 1821, indeed, a Catholic Relief Bill was passed by the Commons; but it was thrown out by the Lords. In the following year, the Lords dealt in the same way with Canning's Bill for the admission of Catholic peers to the Upper House. In February 1822, the Commons rejected a motion, proposed by Brougham, for inquiry into the causes of the national distress. In April they threw out Lord John Russell's motion for Reform. In June they rejected, by more than two to one, Brougham's motion declaring the influence of the Crown to be destructive of the independence of Parliament, and asserting that that influence had increased since 1780. (See page 127.)
- 5. Liberal Tendencies: 1823-26.—Towards the end of the year, the King spent thirteen days in Scotland. There he received the news that one of his chief ministers, the Marquis of Londonderry—better known as Lord Castlereagh—had committed suicide, his mind having given way under the strain of overwork. Canning gave up the post of Governor-General of India, to which he had been appointed, in order to become Foreign Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. A few months later, Robinson and Huskisson, both free-traders, joined the Ministry, which began to assume a more liberal tone. With Huskisson's appointment as President of the Board of

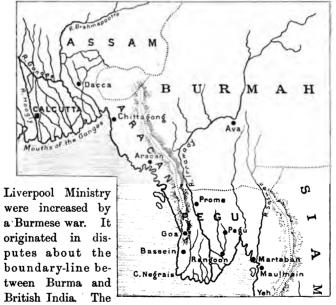
Abroad.—In 1821, the Cortes (or National Assembly) of Portugal proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and the liberty of the press, and obliged King John VI. to return from Brazil. On his death in 1826, his son, Pedro IV., preferred the throne of Brazil, which had been declared an independent empire in 1822, and proclaimed his daughter Maria (aged seven) Queen of Portugal. She was opposed by her uncle, Dom Miguel, who held the throne till 1833, when he was overthrown by Dom Pedro, with the assistance of the British, and Maria was restored.

Trade, and Robinson's as Chancellor of the Exchequer (1823), the free-trade policy of the country may be said to have begun. By an Act establishing Reciprocity of Duties, the Navigation Acts were practically repealed, and the importation of foreign goods was facilitated (1823). When the commercial prosperity of the country began to revive, and the revenue was increased, Robinson reduced the duties on silk, wool, and other imports (1824), and abolished the house duty on small and cheap houses (1826). At the same time Peel, who had been Home Secretary since Sidmouth's retirement in 1822, helped to remove restrictions on labour and the combinations of labourers, though combinations for the purpose of intimidation were declared illegal (1824–25). He also passed a Currency Act (1823).

- 6. Commercial Crisis: 1825.—The revival of trade had another effect. Money being abundant, men invested it, on the promise of high interest, in unsound schemes. Loans were granted to half the States of the world. Paper money was issued by the banks to an extent far beyond what was prudent. The natural result was a panic or commercial crisis in 1825, when sixty banks suspended business, and more than two hundred merchants became insolvent. By causing the issue of one-pound and two-pound notes, by coining hastily a new supply of sovereigns, and by inducing the Bank of England to advance money on the security of goods, the Government met the crisis, and to some extent restored commercial credit.
- 7. Canning's Foreign Policy: 1822-26.—The spirit of Canning's foreign policy was diametrically opposed to that of Londonderry. It may be shortly summed up as lying in a desire to counteract the Holy Alliance—a despotic league formed in 1815 by Russia, Austria, and Prussia—and to loose the shackles of oppressed nationalities in all parts of the world. Refusing to interfere in Spanish affairs, he yet acknowledged the new-won freedom of the South American States, which had lately shaken off the Spanish yoke. To preserve peace, and yet to cut Great Britain loose from the Holy Alliance, were the conflicting aims which the genius of Canning enabled him to reconcile. He saved Portugal in a

critical moment of December 1826. Spain, jealous of her western neighbour's free constitution, permitted some renegade Portuguese to harass the frontier of the country they had betrayed. The Princess-Regent applied to Britain, and troops were in the Tagus by Christmas Day. They were not needed, however, for Canning's speech had gone before them, and had frightened the aggressors into flight.

8. The first Burmese War: 1824-26.—The troubles of the



British attack was delivered both by land and by sea. Assam was invaded and annexed (1825). At the same time an expedition sailed to the mouth of the Irrawadi. In May 1824, a force under Sir Archibald Campbell captured the city of Rangoon. The march up the river was impeded by stockades of teak-wood and bamboo, which the Burmese defended fiercely; but the British bayonet forced its resistless way on to Yandaboo, within sixty miles of Ava. There in 1826 a treaty was

signed, by which Aracan and Tenasserim, as well as Assam, became British possessions.

- 9. Canning's Ministry: 1827.—Apoplexy having struck down Lord Liverpool early in 1827, Canning became Prime Minis-Many of his former colleagues, including Peel and Wellington, refused to accept office under Canning, because of his strong advocacy of Roman Catholic Emancipation. however, gained him the support of Burdett and Brougham in the House of Commons. The short session then opening was a time of misery to the Prime Minister. Though estranged from his old associates, taunted by many foes, and weak in health, he held resolutely to his post in the face of every difficulty. But the springs of life were failing. When he had secured an object for which he had long been workingthe conclusion of the Treaty of London for the pacification of Greece—he took his last journey, to the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. There, in the room where Fox had died, he too died, ostensibly of cold, in reality of thankless political toil (August 8, 1827). Viscount Goderich (Robinson) was his successor.
- 10. Navarino: 1827.—Before the year closed, the treaty which formed the last act of Canning's foreign policy, and which bound together Britain, France, and Russia in a league to save Greece from the despoiling hands of Turkey, led to While negotiations were pending, Ibrahim Pasha with the Egyptian fleet entered the harbour of Navarino, in the south-west of the Morea, where the Turkish squadron lay. The British admiral, Codrington, warned him that he would be driven in again if he ventured out. In violation of an express agreement, he did sail out, and the allied admirals then mounted guard over the Eastern fleets. The Turks rashly opened fire; the allies replied, and very soon the engagement became general. In four hours the fleets of Turkey and Egypt were utterly destroyed (October 28). The news of this unexpected collision shook the Goderich Ministry to its foundation, and internal discord completed its ruin. Unable to reconcile the differences of his colleagues, Goderich himself resigned, and in January

1828 the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, with Peel as Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. The War Secretary was Viscount Palmerston, an Irish peer who sat in the House of Commons as member for the University of Cambridge.

- 11. The Catholic Question.—Though both Peel and Wellington had broken off from Canning on the Catholic question, it fell to their lot to concede the Catholic claims in the fullest George III. had never been induced to relax his stubborn attitude on the question, his honest conviction being that to assent to such a measure would have been a violation of his coronation oath. During the Regency, however, there was passed, with the approval of all parties, the Military and Naval Officers' Oath Act, which opened all ranks in the army and the navy to Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters alike Catholics were still excluded, however, from both Houses of Parliament; and that was felt to be a great hardship, especially in Ireland, where the majority of the population were of that faith. Canning was the firm advocate of Emancipation during the whole of his career. Grattan, who entered the Imperial Parliament in 1805, devoted to the cause the wisdom and eloquence of his old age. Neither of these men, however, lived to see the final triumph of the question. great champion of Emancipation in its latest stage was Daniel O'Connell, an Irish barrister, whose eloquence and humour gave him extraordinary influence with his fellow-countrymen. vast confederacy called the "Catholic Association" was organized to promote the movement, and for its support the Irish peasantry voluntarily paid a weekly tax called the "Catholic Rent" (1824).
- 12. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.—An important step in the direction of religious freedom was taken in April 1828, when Lord John Russell moved for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (see page 138), and carried this relief of Dissenters through Parliament in spite of ministerial opposition supported by Peel, Huskisson, and Palmerston. That was the first triumph of the party of progress and (898)

reform. The Test Act had required members of Parliament, as well as other office-holders, to receive the communion in the Church of England. The removal of that condition opened Parliament to Dissenters; but the retention of a declaration against transubstantiation excluded Roman Catholics, and the insertion of the words "on the true faith of a Christian" unintentionally excluded Jews. Soon afterwards Huskisson left the Ministry, having voted against it on a motion for enfranchising Birmingham. He was followed by Palmerston, Dudley, and the other "Canningites," and the Ministry became purely a Tory one.

13. The Catholic Emancipation Act: 1829.—The repeal of the Test Act greatly encouraged the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims. An incident which occurred this year brought that question to a crisis. In consequence of changes in the Ministry, several seats in the House of Commons became vacant. One of these was for Clare county. Daniel O'Connell, the great champion of Emancipation, and himself a Roman Catholic, was elected. Government saw plainly that his exclusion from the House would inevitably be followed by a rebellion in Ireland. Wellington and Peel therefore withdrew their opposition. Having first resigned his seat for Oxford and secured his election for Westbury, Peel set about the preparation of a pacific measure. King George at first refused to approve the Bill; but when Wellington and Peel intimated their resignation, he gave way. On the 5th of March 1829, the Bill was brought before the Commons. Modifying the oath so as to admit of its being taken by Roman Catholics, it opened to them all corporate and public offices, with the exception of four-the Regency, the Lord Chancellorship of England, and the Vicerovalty and the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland. Peel's change of side caused indignation in the High Church party, to which he belonged. The Earl of Winchelsea accused Welling-

Abroad.—In 1829, the Peace of Adrianople, closing a short war between Russia and Turkey, gave the former additional territory in Asia Minor, recognized the independence of Greece, and secured an independent administration for Moldavia and Wallachia.

ton of entertaining "insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State." The charge led to a harmless duel between the two peers—the last in which an English Prime Minister took part. About four in the morning of the 1st of April the Emancipation Bill was passed in the Commons by a majority of 178 in a House of 462. Ten days later, it passed the Lords by a majority almost as large. It received the King's signature on the 13th of April (1829).

- 14. Forty-shilling Freeholders: 1829.—This was a second triumph for the party of progress. But Ireland was made to pay a price for the boon offered to her. In the Clare election Peel saw with dismay the forty-shilling freeholders revolt from their landlords and vote at the bidding of their priests. He attributed their conduct to fear of spiritual denunciation. landlord," he said, "has been disarmed by the priest." He therefore introduced a Bill to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, and to fix the qualification of an elector at £10. Brougham accepted the measure as "the all but extravagant price" of emancipation; and the two Bills were carried through Parliament together. O'Connell then took his seat for Clare county, but not until he had been re-elected; and at once he began to agitate for a repeal of the Union. The members of the Whig Opposition in the Commons now organized themselves to promote additional reforms, and chose Lord Althorp as their leader.
- 15. Death and Character of George IV.—On June 26, 1830, King George IV. died, aged sixty-eight. Having no direct heir, he was succeeded by his brother William, Duke of Clarence. An older brother—Frederick, Duke of York—had died in 1827. George's handsome figure, courtly manners, and fine taste in matters of dress, obtained for him the name of "the first gentleman in Europe;" but in all that goes to make a real gentleman—in goodness of heart, in disinterestedness, in purity of life and conduct—he was lamentably deficient. A seeker after pleasure in every form, he was the worst sovereign that had occupied the throne since Charles II. A recent historian

describes him as "a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, and a bad friend."

Notes of Progress.—During this reign Captains Parry and Ross explored the Arctic Seas in search of the North-west Passage. In 1819, the first steamer—the Savannah—crossed the Atlantic. In 1820, the use of broken stones in road-making was introduced by Mr. Macadam. In 1821, the first iron steam-boat was seen on the Thames. In 1824, Mechanics' Institutions were established. In 1825, the first railway (Stockton and Darlington) was opened for passenger traffic. In the same year, the Enterprise, under Captain Johnson, made the first steam voyage to India. The London University, chartered in 1826, was opened in 1828. The London Metropolitan Police was organized by Sir Robert Peel in 1829; hence their names—"Bobbies" and "Peelers."

# CHAPTER XXIV.—PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

- l. Accession of William IV.<sup>1</sup>: 1830.—William IV. was sixty-five years of age when he ascended the throne. He could not, in the nature of things, be expected to occupy it long, and therefore his accession excited no enthusiasm. The people liked, however, the simplicity of his life and the homeliness of his manners. He was fond of wandering through the streets of London unattended. His eccentricities were so marked that many persons thought he had inherited his father's mental weakness.
- 2. The first Steam Railway: 1830.—One of the earliest incidents of the reign was the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the first locomotive line in the world. The Rocket steam-engine, constructed by George and Robert Stephenson, performed the unprecedented feat of running a mile in less than two minutes. At the opening ceremony, there was a gathering of Cabinet ministers and other noted men to make a trial trip. During a temporary stoppage of the train, while Wellington and Huskisson stood on the line talking, a shout from an approaching engine startled them. Huskisson,

William IV., third son of George III. | ried, 1818, Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen. and Charlotte Sophia. Born, 1765. Mar- | Issue, two daughters, who died in infancy.

enfeebled from recent illness, fell on the rail, and had his leg crushed. He died the same night.

- 3. Continental Revolutions: 1830.—The revolutions of 1830 in France and Belgium caused much excitement in Great Britain, and provoked sympathetic movements there. The causes of the agitation were the same at home as abroad—namely, impatience of the rule of the aristocracy, and demand for increased power on the part of the middle classes. Thus a new impetus was given to the agitation for a reform of the representation. The Duke of Wellington was strangely blind to the feeling of the country. After Huskisson's death, he renewed efforts formerly made to induce the Canningites to rejoin his Ministry. Palmerston declined to return without Melbourne (William Lamb), Lansdowne, and Grey. The Duke refused Lansdowne and Grey, because they were reformers. Palmerston himself declared his intention to vote for reform.
- 4. The Reform Ministry: 1830.—In the new Parliament, which met in October, the number of Whigs was increased, although the Tories had still a majority. Replying in the House of Lords to a speech of Earl Grey, in which the Whig peer declared the reform of Parliament to be necessary, Wellington asserted that the system of representation was incapable of improvement, and possessed the entire confidence of the people. The hasty speech sounded the knell of the administration. A few days later, a motion on the Civil List was carried in the House of Commons against the Government by a majority of twenty-nine (November 15). Wellington then resigned; and a Whig Ministry was formed under Earl Grey, on the expressed condition that Parliamentary Reform was to be a Cabinet ques-

In 1830, the Belgians, being mostly Roman Catholics, revolted from the Netherlands, and established their independence. Belgium became a separate kingdom (1831), with a free constitution, under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, uncle of Queen Victoria.

Abroad.—In 1830, a second revolution in France expelled Charles X. Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was elected "King of the French." Charles had begun to reign in 1824, and soon showed a disposition to rule with absolute power. About the same time the French suppressed the Algerine pirates, and Algiers (in Africa) became a French colony.

- tion. Brougham became Lord Chancellor; Althorp was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Melbourne took the Home, and Palmerston the Foreign Office. Lord John Russell, though not in the Cabinet, became the champion of the cause of reform.
- 5. The first Bill: 1831.—Lord John Russell introduced a Reform Bill in the House of Commons on the 1st of March 1831. Its sweeping provisions, aiming at the utter extinction of close or "rotten" boroughs, took even the friends of reform by surprise: for the first night it seemed to the Opposition only an amusing farce. There was no division on the first reading—March 14th; but on the occasion of the second reading (March 21), after a hot debate, the numbers stood 302 to 301, the Ministry being victorious by one vote. This looked ominous for the Bill; and the House, going into Committee, took up the clauses. The Government experienced two defeats within three days. Grey insisted on an appeal to the country, and to this the King with much reluctance agreed.
- 6. The second Bill: 1831.—The excitement in the country was extraordinary. Great riots took place during the elections. The new Parliament, which met in June, contained a large majority of reformers. A second Bill was introduced, and was carried on the second reading in the Commons by a large majority. After much discussion in Committee, the third reading was carried by a majority of 109. The Lords, however, rejected it by a majority of 41, after a fierce debate which lasted five nights (October 7). The result was followed by a renewal of the excitement and rioting in the country. Nottingham Castle was attacked and burned to the ground. Riots, accompanied with destruction of property, took place at Bristol, Derby, and other large towns. Members of the House of Lords were insulted by the mob.
- 7. The third Bill: 1831-32.—Lord John Russell brought in a third Bill before the close of the year (December 12). This Bill was passed by the Commons; but the opposition in the Lords grew so strong that Earl Grey proposed a creation of Liberal peers. The King objected, and Grey resigned. The Duke of Wellington was again called on to form a Ministry;

but this he failed to do. The current of public feeling turned fiercely against him; and the victor of Waterloo, once the idol of the people, was obliged to barricade his house against a London mob! Earl Grey was then recalled, and the King intimated to the Opposition Lords that he was prepared to create new peers in order to pass the Bill. This had the desired effect. About one hundred Tory peers absented themselves from the division, and the Bill became law, receiving the royal assent on June 7. The Reform Bills of Scotland and Ireland received the royal assent on the 17th of July, and on the 7th of August.

- 8. Effects of the Bill.—Three great changes were thus made: (1.) The right of sending members to Parliament was taken away from many places—called pocket or rotten boroughs—in which there were very few voters, and sometimes none residing in the borough. Of this class the most notorious example was Old Sarum, in Wiltshire, in which there was not a single house! (2.) Several towns, such as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield, which had grown within the last century into first-class cities, now for the first time received the right of sending members to Parliament. (3.) The franchise, or right of voting, was extended more widely among the middle classes. towns, the right of voting was given to owners, and to tenants, of houses worth £10 a year and upwards. In counties, all were entitled to vote who owned property worth £10 a year, or who paid a yearly rent of at least £50 for their holdings. These changes established the principle that the House of Commons is the People's House of Parliament, and that it should be made to represent all classes and interests in the country.
- 9. Abolition of Slavery: 1833.—The first Reformed House of Commons, which met in February 1833, comprised 485 "Liberals" and 173 "Conservatives"—names which now began to supersede the old party-names of Whig and Tory. One of the first questions that occupied its attention was the Eman-

Abroad.—In 1832, the kingdom of Poland was at last abolished, and what remained of its territory became a province of Russia. A revolt began in 1830, in which the Poles were at first successful; but they were at last overwhelmed by superior numbers.

cipation of the Slaves in the British Colonies. Ever since 1806, when the slave trade was abolished by the efforts of Wilberforce and Fox, a movement had been going on in the country and in Parliament with that view. Wilberforce, who now sat for the county of York, clung with noble perseverance to his life-work. From time to time the debates were renewed, amid great opposition from slave-holders, planters. and merchants. At last, in 1833, an Act was passed for the emancipation of slaves in all parts of the British dominions, and granting £20,000,000 to the slave-owners as compensation. The Act came into force on August 1, 1834; but the slaves were not set free at once, being bound to serve their masters as . apprentices for five years longer, if the masters required them. Before the end of 1838 eight hundred thousand to do so. slaves received their freedom. Wilberforce lived only long enough to see the triumph of his humane exertions. in 1833.

- 10. A new Poor Law: 1834.—The chief work of the session of 1834 was a new poor law. The rate to support the poor had risen to £8,000,000 a year; and a great part of the sum was squandered on the support of strong men and women, who were too idle to work. The new Bill placed the local boards under the superintendence of a Government department called the Poor Law Board, and ordered that no aid should be given to able-bodied paupers, unless they chose to go to the poor-houses, and work for their living there. The Irish Poor Law was not amended till 1838.
- 11. Trade-unions and Strikes: 1834.—The same year is memorable as the first in which trade strikes occurred on a serious scale. Laws regulating the price of labour, and prohibiting workmen from combining for their own protection, were common from the time of Edward III., when two Statutes of Labourers were passed. All the laws against combination were repealed in 1825. Thereafter trade-unions became common, and frequently led to disturbances in the manufacturing towns. In 1834 the trade-unionists held a great demonstration in London, which happily passed without serious disturbance.

The tailors of London struck work for increase of wages; and their example was followed by the weavers of Leeds and the calico-printers of Glasgow. In each case the loss of wages led to great suffering.

- 12. Disturbed State of Ireland: 1832-33.—The affairs of Ireland now began to occupy a great deal of the time and attention of Parliament. The record of crimes in 1832 showed a total of 9,000, all connected with the disturbed state of the country. The chief grievance of the people was the exaction of tithes for the payment of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In most cases the payment of tithes was refused, and the collectors were maltreated and in some instances murdered. In 1833 the Government introduced a Coercion Act, giving the Irish Executive exceptional powers. At the same time an Irish Church Temporalities Act was passed, suppressing ten bishoprics, reducing incomes, abolishing sinecures, and appointing a Commission to administer surplus revenues. The Bill at first contained an "appropriation" clause for the application of the surplus to secular purposes; but that the Ministry was forced to drop in order to carry the Bill. By another Act, the Irish clergy received a million sterling in compensation for arrears nominally as a loan, but ultimately as a gift.
- 13. Fall of the Grey Ministry: 1834.—In a debate on a motion adverse to the Irish Church in 1834, Lord John Russell maintained the right of Parliament to appropriate the surplus revenue. At once Lord Stanley (the Irish Secretary), Sir James Graham, and the Earl of Ripon (Goderich) resigned. This was the beginning of the break-up of the Grey Ministry, which had been steadily losing its popularity. Two months later, a difference of opinion as to the renewal of the Coercion Act led to Lord Althorp's resignation; and then Earl Grey, feeling himself unable to control the discordant elements in the Ministry, resigned also. Lord Melbourne took his place at the head of the Government, to which Lord Althorp returned. When Lord Althorp was transferred to the House of Lords, on the death of his father, Earl Spencer, the King summarily dismissed the Melbourne Ministry, without any apparent reason except

his dread of the reforming spirit, and placed Sir Robert Peel, who was then abroad, at the head of affairs (November 1834).

14. Peel's first Ministry: 1834-35.—Peel held the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Wellington was Foreign Secretary, Mr. W. E. Gladstone was Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Peel made it a condition of his accepting office that he should be allowed to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. The famous "Tamworth Manifesto"—Peel was member for Tamworth—in which he announced his policy, showed how greatly the Reform Bill had changed the attitude of parties. The obstructive policy of Toryism was abandoned, and a progressive spirit was There were two reforms, however, which he declared his intention of resisting. These were the secularization of the Irish Church surplus, and the admission of Dissenters to the English Universities. The election gave the Conservatives considerable gains; but they were still in a minority (273 to 380); and when Parliament met in February 1835, ministers were beaten in several divisions, and their measures were thrown out. In April Lord John Russell carried his motion for the appropriation of the Irish Church surplus by 285 to 258. Peel then resigned, having been in power only four months, and Melbourne returned to office.

15. The Municipal Reform Act: 1835.—In Lord Melbourne's second Ministry, which lasted for five years, Lord John Russell was Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, and Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. The chief measure of the session was the *Municipal Corporations Act*, which reformed the representation of the people in town councils, in the same way as the Reform Act had improved that of the people in Parliament. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1832, had revealed an extraordinary amount of corruption in the municipal corporations. The members were generally self-

Abroad.—In 1835, the Zollverein (Customs' Union), establishing freedom of trade among the different German States, was confirmed by treaty. It began with Prussia and a few other States in 1818, and was gradually joined by all the leading German States except Austria.

elected, and frequently sat for life, while the freemen alone had any voice in the administration. By the Act of 1835, the burgesses, or resident rate-payers, elected the councillors, who elected the mayor and the aldermen from among themselves. The Scottish municipalities had been reformed in the same way in 1833. The case of Ireland gave rise to much controversy, which postponed the settlement till 1840.

- 16. Tithe-commutation Act: 1836.—The last months of William's reign were occupied with controversies over the Irish Tithes question, with special reference to the "appropriation clauses," which the Commons adopted, but which the Lords systematically rejected by large majorities. A Bill was passed, however, for the Commutation of Tithes in England, those payable in kind being converted into a rent-charge payable in money. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were incorporated in the same year (1836), for the purpose of revising the ecclesiastical endowments, so as to reduce excessive expenditure and augment small livings.
- 17. Death and Character of William IV.: 1837.—The King died on June 20, 1837, aged seventy-two. He left no children. Though William IV. was remarkable neither for ability nor for character, his natural goodness of heart and kindliness of manner made him a favourite with his people. He had chosen the sea as his profession, and his manners partook of the bluntness as well as of the good-nature of the British sailor. He inherited his father's good sense, with a share also of his obstinacy.
- 18. The Constitution.—The period covered by the reigns of George IV. and William IV. is one of the most remarkable in the history of the Constitution. It witnessed the first introduction of the democratic element into the parliamentary and the municipal institutions of the country. At the beginning of the period, the Imperial Parliament was complete in its representa-

Abroad.—In 1836, Prince Louis Napoleon (nephew of Napoleon I.) attempted to raise an insurrection at Strasbourg, but failed, and was allowed to go to America. He made a second attempt at Boulogne in 1840. This time he was arrested, and imprisoned "for life" in the Castle of Ham; but he made his escape to England in 1846, in the disguise of a mason.

tion of the three United Kingdoms. The supremacy of the House of Commons over the other parts of the Constitution was also established; but that supremacy was often used for bad ends, and still oftener failed to be used for good ends, because the House did not really represent the people. The principle of ministerial responsibility was now fully recognized. In 1834 the King dismissed the Melbourne Ministry, and made Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister; but the latter was able to hold office for only four months.

The first reform was effected in 1828, when the Corporation Act (1661) and the Test Act (1673) were repealed. The Acts had been practically inoperative since 1728, when the first Annual Bill of Indemnity for not observing them was passed.

The second reform was effected in 1829, when the Catholic Relief Act was passed, after a struggle extending over many years. In 1833, an Act was passed which enabled Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists returned to the House of Commons to substitute an affirmation for the statutory oath. In the same year, a Bill to admit Jews to Parliament was passed by the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

The third step was taken in the Reform Act of 1832, which disfranchised a large number of nomination or "pocket" boroughs, deprived others of one of their members, and gave additional seats to counties and to large towns of recent origin, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. It also added large numbers of the middle classes to the voters by enfranchising tenants of houses worth £10 a-year. In counties the vote was given to copy-holders and lease-holders, and also to tenants at will paying £50 a-year for their holdings. Similar measures were introduced for Scotland and Ireland.

The fourth step was taken when the Municipal Reform Act was passed in 1835. It gave the municipal franchise to resident rate-payers, and made the system of municipal government uniform in the boroughs to which it applied. A similar measure for Scotland had been passed in 1833. That for Ireland did not pass till 1840.

One proof of the earnestness with which the reformed House

of Commons entered on its work, was that it adopted the practice of holding morning sittings for the despatch of business. The publication of the Division Lists began in 1836.

Among the important measures adopted by the first reformed Parliament were, the Abolition of Slavery, Lord Ashley's Act regulating the work of women and children in factories (1833), and a new Poor Law (1834).

The work of mitigating the severity of the Criminal Code, in which Sir Samuel Romilly was so persistent till his death (1818), was taken up by Sir James Mackintosh. In 1820 he succeeded in passing a Bill abolishing capital punishment for shop-lifting to the amount of 5s.

The petitioning of Parliament was now regarded as a legitimate way of bringing public opinion to bear on its deliberations. In 1823 a petition, signed by 17,000 freeholders in favour of Reform, was sent to the House of Commons from Yorkshire.

Several important Acts on the employment of labour were passed in 1824. One of these repealed the Act fixing the wages of weavers at Spitalfields. Another repealed Act was that which restricted the right of workmen to travel in search of work. All the laws regulating the combinations of workmen or of masters were also repealed, excepting, however, those forbidding combinations for the purpose of intimidation.

The era of Free Trade was heralded by the measures of Huskisson and Robinson in 1823 and subsequent years. A sliding-scale for regulating the duty on imported corn was adopted in 1828—that is to say, the duty rose when the price fell, and fell when the price rose. Joseph Hume's motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws was defeated by a large majority in 1829. Peel's first Currency Act came into force in 1823.

The State support of elementary education began during this period. In 1831, the House of Commons voted £30,000 for education in Ireland. In 1833, it voted £20,000 for education in England. In 1836, the newspaper stamp was reduced from 4d. to 1d. on each newspaper.

#### CHIEF EVENTS.

- 1820. The Cato Street Conspiracy.
- 1822. Suicide of Lord Londonderry.
- 1823. Huskisson's Reciprocity of Duties Bill— The Irish Catholic Association formed.
- 1824. Laws against combination repealed.
- 1825. Great money panic.
- 1827. Treaty of London (Great Britain, France, and Russia) for the pacification of Greece— Battle of Navarino.
- 1828. Corporation Act and Test Act repealed.
- 1829. Roman Catholic Emancipation.
  1830. Death of George IV.—Accession of William
- IV.—Death of Huskisson—Earl Grey Prime Minister.
- 1831. Two Reform Bills defeated.-A third intro-

- duced—Education grant of £30,000 for Ireland.
- 1832. The Reform Act passed.
- 1833. Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act passed —Abolition of slavery—Act regulating the work of women and children in factories— Municipal Reform Act for Scotland—Education grant of £30,000 for England.
- 1834. Poor Law Amendment Act—Lord Melbourne Prime Minister—Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister.
- 1835. Lord Melbourne Prime Minister—Municipal Reform Act for England.
- 1836. Newspaper stamp duty reduced to 1d. 1837. Death of William IV.

### NAMES OF NOTE.

- Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1830-34; Earl Spencer, 1834; died, 1845.
- Henry Brougham, Attorney-General for Queen Caroline, 1820; M.P. for Yorkshire, 1830; Lord Chancellor and a peer, 1830; resigned, 1834.
- George Canning, President of Board of Control, 1816; resigned in consequence of prosecttion of Queen Caroline, 1820; appointed Governor-General of India, 1832; proposed to admit Catholic peers to the House of Lords, 1822; Poreign Secretary, 1823; supported Huskisson's free-trade policy, 1823; Frime Minister, 1827; died, 1827.
- William Ewart Gladstone, a Lord of the Treasury, 1834; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, January to April 1835.
- Lord Goderich (Frederick Robinson), President of the Board of Trade, 1318; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1823; sided Hunkisson's fretrade measures, 1824; Secretary for the Colonies and Viscount Goderich, 1827; Prime Minister, 1827; resigned, 1828; Secretary for the Colonies, 1830-33; Lord Privy Seal and Earl of Ripon, 1833.
- Earl Grey, Prime Minister, 1830; resigned and recalled, 1832; carried the Reform Act, 1832; resigned, 1834.
- William Ruskisson, President of Board of Trade, 1823; introduced free-trade policy; passed Reciprocity of Duties Bill, 1823; reduced duties on silk and wool, 1824; Becretary for the Colonies, 1827; resigned, 1827; Colonial Secretary again, 1828; resigned, 1828; killed at opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1830.
- Earl of Liverpool (Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury), Prime Minister, 1820; brought in Bill against Queen Caroline, 1820; opposed Reform, 1822; opposed Catholic Emancipation, 1826; struck down with paralysis, retired, 1827; died, 1828.

- Viscount Melbourne (William Lamb), Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1837; Home Secretary, 1830-34; Prime Minister, July to November 1834; again, April 1835.
- Daniel O'Connell, founded the Catholic Association, 1823; elected for Clare country, excluded from Parliament, 1828; returned again and admitted, 1829; pleaded guilty to a charge of holding illegal meetings, 1831; supported the Reform Bill, 1831; opposed the Coercion Act, 1853.
- Viscount Palmerston (Henry John Temple), Secretary at War, 1809-28; resigned with Hushisson, 1828; Foreign Secretary, 1830-34; again, 1835.
- Robert Peel, Home Secretary, 1832; resigned, 1837; refused to join Canning, 1827; Home Secretary, 1838; resolved to support the Catholic claims, resigned his seat for Oxford, and was defeated, returned for Tamworth, 1829; passed the Catholic Relief Bill, 1829; Sir Robert Peel, 1830; resigned, 1830; opposed Reform, 1831-23; Prime Minister, 1834; resigned, 1836.
- Lord John Russell, moved for Farliamentary Reform, 1818; carried Repeal of Corporation and Test Acts, 1828; supported Catholic Emancipation, 1829; Paymaster of the Forces, 1830; introduced the Reform Bill, 1831; leader of the Opposition, 1834; Home Secretary, 1836-39.
- Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), M.P. for Stockbridge, 1820; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1828; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1830; opposed O'Connell, Colonial Secretary, 1833-34.
- Duke of Wellington, Prime Minister, 1838; duel with Lord Winchelsea, 1829; resigned, 1830; opposed the Reform Bill, 1831; put iron shutters on Apsley House, failed to form a Ministry, 1832; acted for Peel as Prime Minister, 1834; Foreign Secretary, 1834-35.

# REIGN OF VICTORIA (HANOVER).

1837.

# CHAPTER XXV.—SOCIAL REFORM.

- 1. Accession of Victoria: 1 1837.—As William IV. left no direct heir, he was succeeded by his niece the Princess Victoria, who had just completed her eighteenth year. From early life her education had been carefully watched and directed by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, in prospect of the high sphere which she was one day likely to fill. The change of Sovereign strengthened the Ministry of Lord Melbourne. Instead of having the influence of the Crown against him, as in the late reign, the young Queen was now dependent on him for guidance and advice in constitutional matters. As the Salic Law excluded women from the throne of Hanover, that state now ceased to be connected with the British Crown, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., then became King of Hanover.
- 2. Rebellion in the Canadas: 1837.—One of the earliest events of the new reign was a rebellion in the Canadas (December). Ever since their foundation, an oligarchical system of government had prevailed in the North American Provinces. For years the Colonists had been demanding free institutions and responsible government. For years the French in Lower Canada had been crying out against British exclusiveness and British tyranny. The triumph of Reform in the mothercountry inspired the malcontents with hope. The Government.

I Victoria. Alexandrina-Victoria, daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. and Victoria of Saxe-Coburg.
Born 1819. Married, 1840, Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Issue, four sons and five daughters.

however, was stubborn when it ought to have been conciliatory. Its conduct drove the reformers in the Assembly of Lower Canada to withhold the supplies till grievances should be redressed. This deprived Government officials of their salaries, and caused much distress. Thereupon the British Parliament empowered the Governor-General to appropriate a large sum out of the treasury. The extreme reformers in the two Canadas coalesced, and rebellion followed.

The rebellion was short-lived. There was little actual fighting and little loss of life. Before the end of December, the leaders either had fled or had been lodged in jail. A second rising, in Lower Canada, in the following year was as speedily put down. These events, however, convinced the British Parliament of the necessity of making concessions. To strengthen the Government of the colony, a Union Act was passed in 1840, by which the two Canadas were made one Province. The union was not a success politically, but it indirectly led to the wider confederation of 1867.

- 3. The Anti-Corn-Law League: 1838.—There were loud complaints in England at this time of the hardships suffered by the mass of the population in consequence of the laws restricting the importation of corn. The Corn Act of 1815 had been superseded in 1828 by the Sliding-Scale Act, which reduced the duty on imported corn in proportion as the price of home-grown corn increased; but practically the duty was still prohibitory. The movement by which these laws were at last repealed had its origin in 1838. Then was formed the famous Anti-Corn-Law League, with Richard Cobden and John Bright as its leaders. There followed a great agitation all over the country. The Free Traders maintained that the "daily bread" of the people was the last article that should be taxed. Those who lived by agriculture wished to keep foreign grain out of the country. But to buy in the cheapest markets of the world was the policy advocated by the Free Traders.
- 4. The People's Charter: 1838-39.—About this time the proceedings of a society of men who called themselves Chartists began to attract notice. They sought a remedy for the miser-

able condition of the labouring classes—especially of the poorest—in the extension to them of political power. That was the aim of "The People's Charter," a document in which they demanded six sweeping changes in the Constitution:—(1.) Universal suffrage. (2.) Vote by ballot. (3.) Annual Parliaments. (4.) Payment of members of Parliament. (5.) Abolition of the property qualification for a seat in Parliament. (6.) Equal electoral districts. Towards the end of 1839, a band of these discontented men, headed by John Frost, who had once been a magistrate, raised a serious disturbance at Newport, in Monmouthshire, which was attended with loss of life. For this, Frost and two others were condemned to death; but the sentence was commuted to transportation for life.

- 5. The Criminal Code: 1837.—The good work of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh in mitigating the almost savage cruelty of the penal code was now carried forward with energy. The Criminal Law Commission, issued at the instance of Sir Robert Peel, recommended that the number of capital offences should be largely reduced. At the beginning of the century 223 capital offences were recognized by law. A few of these were removed by Romilly and Mackintosh. The reduction began in earnest in 1832. In 1837, all had disappeared but seven; and the use of the pillory was at the same time abolished.
- 6. Irish Questions: 1838.—Irish questions still formed the chief battle-ground of political parties. Under the able and conciliatory administration of Thomas Drummond, the Chief Secretary, the condition of Ireland and the contentment of the people improved so much that O'Connell thought it prudent to suspend his agitation for repeal. An Irish Poor Law was passed, for the relief of evicted tenants and others who suffered from poverty and want. The Irish tithe question was also settled by the Melbourne Ministry, but not on the basis for which Lord John Russell and the Whigs had so earnestly contended. A vote on the "appropriation clause"—providing that the surplus of the Church funds might be applied to general moral and religious purposes—had driven Peel from office

in 1835, and had raised Melbourne to power. The "appropriation clause" was now dropped, at the bidding of the House of Lords, and the Bill passed in 1838 simply commuted tithes into a permanent rent-charge in money, payable by the landlords. This lowering of their flag weakened the position of the Ministry, both with Parliament and with the country. What was virtually a vote of confidence, proposed by Lord John Russell in 1839, was carried in the Commons by a majority of only twenty-two.

- 7. The Jamaica Question: 1838-39.—The feeble financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Spring Rice) still further weakened the Government. The Jamaica difficulty proved fatal to it. The plan of partial or postponed emancipation of slaves, proposed in the Act of 1833, had not been suc-That was especially the case in Jamaica, where the slaves were in the meantime in a worse position than before. Private imprisonment had been abolished, but the public prisons were turned into torture-houses by the slave-owners. The Government passed an Act for immediate emancipation, which came into operation in August 1838, and provoked the wrath of the owners, who regarded it as a breach of faith. A second Act was then passed, transferring the management of the prisons in Jamaica from the Colonial Parliament to the Governor. As this was done without consulting the Colonial Parliament, that body declared that its constitutional rights had been violated, and resolved to abstain from exercising its functions until its position had been recognized. The Home Government then introduced a Bill suspending the Constitution of Jamaica for five years. The Bill was opposed not only by Peel and the Conservatives, but also by Joseph Hume and the Radicals. The result was that the Government majority was reduced to five (May 1839).
- 8. Ministerial Crisis: 1839.—Lord Melbourne immediately resigned, and advised the Queen to send for the Duke of Wellington, the recognized leader of the Opposition. Wellington advised the Queen to commit the formation of the new Ministry to Sir Robert Peel. Peel undertook the task, and submitted

his list to the Queen, but informed her at the same time that it would be necessary to change some of the Ladies of the Household. Having satisfied herself that this was neither customary nor necessary, the Queen declined to agree to it. Peel refused to withdraw his condition, probably because the Queen's ladies included relatives of some of the outgoing ministers. He therefore abandoned the task; and Melbourne resumed office with a reconstructed Cabinet. Lord John Russell became Colonial Secretary, probably in view of the Jamaica difficulty; Francis Baring was Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquis of Normanby took the Home Office; and Thomas Babington Macaulay was Secretary at War.

- 9. Penny Postage: 1839-40.—In the same year the Ministry undertook a great and useful reform in the postal system, in spite of the opposition of the Postmaster-General. That was the adoption of a uniform rate of postage for the whole country. Previously the rate varied, first, with the weight of the letter; secondly, with the distance it was to be carried; and thirdly, with the means of carriage. The rates, moreover, were high. That system tended to limit rather than to extend the business. of the Post-Office and the revenue derived from it; while the time and labour involved in estimating the cost of each letter unnecessarily swelled the expenditure. In a pamphlet issued in 1837, Rowland Hill, the son of a Birmingham schoolmaster, suggested the plan of a uniform and cheap rate for all distances, the cost varying only with the weight of the letter. A Committee of the House of Commons having reported favourably on the scheme, it was adopted by Parliament in 1839, the rate being at first 4d., and in the following year 1d., per half-ounce. The plan resulted at first in serious loss; but by-and-by it led to an enormous increase of business, and to a large revenue.
- 10. The First Education Act: 1839.—The year 1839 is also remarkable as that in which the management of elementary education was first intrusted to a Committee of the Privy Council. An Act was passed constituting the Committee, increasing the grant from £20,000 voted in 1833, to £30,000,

and subjecting the aided schools to Government inspection. The Act was strongly opposed, chiefly because it was held that inspection would unwarrantably interfere with the freedom of management; and it was carried by a majority of two only.

- 11. The Queen's Marriage: 1840.—In 1840, Queen Victoria married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The union gave satisfaction to the country, and afterwards realized the highest hopes of Sovereign and of subjects. The Prince was a man of cultured mind and high aims, and he understood clearly his position as Consort to the Sovereign.
- 12. The Eastern Question.—What is called "the Eastern Question" has oftener than once during this century broken the peace of Europe. The Eastern Question, it has been wittily said by an English statesman, is, "Who shall have Constantinople?" For upwards of four centuries that city has been held by the Turks. Though the Turks are an alien race in Europe, and one with which the other European nations have little sympathy, the Great Powers are willing that they should hold Constantinople, rather than that it should fall into the hands of any European state. For years it has been the dream of Russian statesmen to extend the Empire of the Czars to the Bosporus. With that view quarrels have been picked and fomented, and bloody wars have been waged, over very trifling matters.
- 13. Egypt and Turkey: 1840-41.—This question assumed a new phase in 1840, when the existence of Turkey as a European state was threatened by Russia on the one hand and by Egypt, one of its own dependencies, on the other. In defence of Turkey, British fleets and troops assisted in operations on the Syrian coast, undertaken for the purpose of wresting Syria from Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who had declared himself independent of the Sultan. Russia was watching eagerly for the breaking up of the Turkish Empire; and France, being jealous of the increase of British influence in Egypt, secretly encouraged Mehemet Ali. Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, contrived to outwit both. He forced Russia into a convention for armed interference in the East, which was joined

Aleppo

DAMASCUS

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also by Austria and Prussia, but from which France was excluded (July 15). The French Ministry was so enraged that it

Tripoli

Beyrou

Nablous

Jaffa

was on the point of declaring war against Great Britain. But Palmerston disregarded the blustering, and sent a fleet to the Levant. Beyrout was bombarded. Sidon was stormed by Commodore Napier. The fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken by the British after being bombarded for only three hours (November). Mehemet Ali then submitted, and in February he was reinvested as hereditary Pasha, his dependence on the Sultan being declared and acknowledged.

# nowledged. 14. The First Afghan

War: 1839-42.—From 1839 to 1842 a war raged in Afghanistan. The British Government, having reason to believe that Russia had evil designs on India, deemed it of the highest importance that a prince friendly to Great Britain should sit on the throne of Afghanistan. Early in 1839, during the administration of Lord Auckland, a British army under Sir John Keane entered Afghanistan to replace Shah Soojah on the throne, from which he had been driven by Dost Mohammed. The army, which amounted to 19,350 men, first directed its march on Candahar. On the 4th of May, the British entered that city, from which the Afghan chiefs had fled. On the 23rd of July, the gate of Ghazni was blown open with gunpowder. Dost Mohammed fled from Cabul, into which the

British marched without opposition being offered to them; and then Shah Soojah was enthroned, the land being apparently conquered.

The surrender of Dost Mohammed, who placed his sword in the hands of Sir William Macnaghten, the British envoy, seemed to betoken the end of trouble. It proved, however, far otherwise. It soon became evident that Shah Soojah had no



hold on the Afghans, and that he was maintained on the throne solely by the British troops. The emissaries of Dost Mohammed were busily engaged for months in plots and intrigues against the British. At length, in November 1841, the houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and Captain Johnson at Cabul were attacked and looted by Afghans, and the inmates were mur-

dered. The misery and peril of the beleaguered Europeans grew daily worse, reaching its crisis when Akbar, son of Dost Mohammed, came in person to direct the Afghan operations. Trusting to his honour, Macnaghten met Akbar in conference, and was shot dead by the hand of that treacherous chief.

A little later-January 7, 1842-began the fatal march through the Koord Cabul Pass to Jelalabad. Of sixteen thousand human beings who began the retreat, about seventy were made captive; nearly all the rest were slaughtered or died on the road. Only one European (Dr. Brydone) and four or five natives reached Jelalabad. Ghazni also fell into Afghan hands. and a similar fate would have befallen Candahar and Jelalabad but for the ability and courage of Generals Nott and Sale. new season and a new governor restored the credit of the British army. Lord Ellenborough arrived in India, while General Pollock, having forced the Khyber Pass,1 was pursuing his victorious march to Jelalabad. From April to August he lay there, and then began to move on Cabul, towards which Nott was also advancing from Candahar. The occupation of Cabul, where Sir Robert Sale was reunited to his wife and daughter, who had been Akbar's captives since the retreat, formed the crowning operation of the war. After destroying the fortifications of the city, the British troops withdrew from Afghanistan. Shah Soojah having already met his death at the hand of an assassin, the way was cleared for Dost Mohammed again to hold the throne. In 1855, he made a friendly alliance with Great Britain.

15. War with China: 1839-42.—A smuggling trade in opium having sprung up on the coast of China, to the great anger of the Chinese authorities, they issued an edict for the extinction of the traffic. Captain Elliot, the British superintendent, resisted this edict, and a fire from British ships was poured into a fleet of junks anchored in the Canton River—November 3, 1839. The island and town of Chusan were taken by British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khyber Pass, the chief northern pass | and extends thirty miles, between lofty between Hindustan and Afghanistan. It begins about ten miles west of Peshawur, |

guns in June 1840, and in the following January Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer reduced the forts at the mouth of the Canton



These two blows led River to a Chinese proposal for peace, believing in which Bremer caused Chusan to be evacuated, and took possession of Hong-Kong. But war broke out again. Amov, Chusan, and Ningpo fell into the hands of the British, whose march to Nankin in 1842 forced the Chinese Government to submit. The principal articles of the Treaty of Nankin ceded the island of Hong-Kong to the British, established a right of trading with five cities-Canton, Amoy, Foo-Choo, Ningpo, and Shanghai - and handed over to Great Britain twenty-

seven millions of silver dollars as war indemnity.

### CHAPTER XXVI.—FREE TRADE

1. Peel's Second Ministry: 1841.—Before the conclusion of the Chinese War the Melbourne Ministry fell. In May 1841, Peel carried a vote of want of confidence in the Government. Parliament was dissolved, and in the new House of Commons the Conservatives had a majority of eighty. Melbourne at once resigned, and Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister for the second time. His administration lasted from September 1841 until June 1846, undergoing during that time but little change. In 1843, the Duke of Wellington became Commander-in-Chief; and in 1844, Mr. W. E. Gladstone was made President of the Board of Trade.

- 2. The Corn Laws and the New Tariff: 1842.—The first question to which Peel turned his attention was the modification of the Corn Laws. In 1842, he carried the second Slidingscale Act, by which the duty ranged from one pound to one shilling, as the price of wheat rose from fifty-one shillings to seventy-three shillings per quarter. This, however, did not satisfy the Free Traders, and the agitation continued to gather strength. For some years the national expenditure had been in excess of the income. To meet the growing deficiency, Peel proposed and carried an income-tax of sevenpence per pound. This, he estimated, would not only make up the deficiency, but also leave a surplus. This surplus he proposed to devote to the reduction of customs duties on imported articles. view he introduced a new tariff, in which the duty on the raw materials used in manufactures was reduced to a merely nominal amount, and the duty on manufactured articles was such as to enable the foreign producer to compete fairly with the home manufacturer. Peel's proposals alarmed some of his followers; but they were heartily supported by many of his political opponents, who saw in them a recognition of free-trade principles. and they were carried by large majorities. This was the beginning of a new financial policy, which has greatly extended the commerce of the country, and has afforded new openings for domestic industry. At the same time, Peel objected to reduce the tax on corn, on the ground that he was unwilling to alarm the agricultural party.
- 3. Ecclesiastical Movements: 1843.—The year 1843 was marked by ecclesiastical troubles in both divisions of Great Britain. In England, the Tractarian or Puseyite party created no small stir, especially in Oxford, the centre of their agitation. Holding doctrines resembling those of the Church of Rome rather than those of the Church of England, many of them in process of time went over to the ranks of the Roman Catholics. In Scotland, the National Church was rent by a new Disruption. The intrusion of unacceptable ministers under the Patronage Act of 1712 had long been regarded as a grievance by the Scottish people; and in 1834, the General Assembly passed a

Veto Act, which gave a majority of the male heads of families in a congregation the right to reject the patron's presentee. The Court of Session, and the House of Lords on appeal, decided that the Veto Act was beyond the power of the Church. The claim of the Civil Courts to have jurisdiction over the Church Courts in matters spiritual having been confirmed by Parliament, two hundred members of the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in May 1843 separated from the Church of Scotland, and formed themselves into the "Free Church of Scotland." The seceders were followed by many thousands of the people.

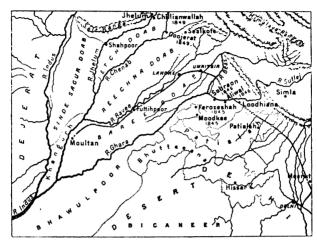
- 4. Conquest of Sindh: 1843.—War had, in the meantime, broken out again in India. During the Afghan War (1839-42), Sindh—a district of fifty thousand square miles, with a seacoast of one hundred and fifty miles, lying on both sides of the mouths of the Indus—was occupied by British troops. The Ameers or rulers of Sindh objected to this, and an attack was made on the British Residency at Hyderabad. Major Outram, who had only one hundred men, retreated skilfully after a gallant defence, and joined the main army under Sir Charles Napier. A few days later the British won the Battle of Meeanee; <sup>1</sup> and a second victory at Dubba completed the conquest of Sindh.
- 5. The Rebecca Riots: 1843.—The Rebecca riots in Wales, which affected chiefly the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, arose out of the bad management of turnpikes and tolls. The strange distortion of a Scripture text gave origin to the name: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them" (Gen. xxiv. 60). Disguised in bonnets, caps, and gowns, the rioters stole at dead of night upon the toll-bars, flung out the keepers' furniture, pulled down the houses, and levelled the gates with the ground. One old woman, a toll-keeper, was killed. Some Chartist emissaries crept among them, and the spirit of the mob grew worse. They attacked workhouses and burned stacks. At last some of the gang were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mecanee, in Sindh, six miles north of Hyderabad. Dubba is also in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad. (See Map, page 220.)

taken and punished, and by justice tempered with mercy the ferment was allayed.

- 6. O'Connell and Repeal: 1843.—O'Connell's agitation for the Repeal of the Union with Ireland reached its height in A monster meeting at Trim preceded a still greater 1843. gathering on the historic Hill of Tara, in Meath (August 15). O'Connell drove out from Dublin in a four-in-hand coach on that fine summer morning; and in a great speech he promised his hearers, who numbered hundreds of thousands, that within a twelvemonth they should see a Parliament in College Green On Sunday morning, October 8, cannon and dragoons went to the Strand of Clontarf, three miles north of Dublin, sent by the Viceroy to support his proclamation forbidding a monster meeting there. O'Connell wisely refrained from facing the artillery. Six days later (October 14), he was arrested with his son and eight other men on a charge of conspiracy and sedition. The trial, delayed by the difficulty of forming a jury, began on the 15th of January. For six-andtwenty days it continued to linger, until a verdict of "Guilty" came from the exhausted jury. The sentence, not pronounced till the 30th of May, inflicted two years' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000 upon O'Connell, but dealt more lightly with his accomplices. He lay, accordingly, in Richmond Penitentiary in Dublin for a time, until a verdict of the House of Lords, to which an appeal was made, reversed the sentence and set him Smith O'Brien, an Irish Protestant gentleman whose reputation for good sense and moderation had been previously unstained, became the leader of the Young Ireland party. O'Connell then went abroad to die. His body, borne from Genoa in the summer of 1847, was followed through the streets of Dublin by thousands of his sorrowing countrymen.
- 7. The First Sikh War: 1845-46.—North-east of Sindh, higher up the Indus, lies the great district of the Punjab, which derives its name from Persian words meaning "five waters." The country was held by the Sikhs—the High-

<sup>1</sup> Five waters. It is watered by five | taries the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravee, rivers--namely, the Indus, and its tribu- and the Sutlej.



landers of India—who had seized it in the middle of last century. One of their Princes, Runjeet Singh, the "Lion of the Punjåb," had been a firm friend of the British; but his death in 1839 caused a prolonged struggle for the throne. The disturbance gave the British Government an excuse for placing an army on the frontier. In 1845, Duleep Singh, a boy of seven, came to the throne, his mother acting as Regent. In December of that year a sudden and unprovoked attack was made on a British force stationed at Moodkee. The Sikhs were repulsed with loss; but they proved themselves formidable foes. They had fine horses, and their gunners were drilled by European officers of artillery.

The British army, under Sir Hugh Gough and the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, then moved on the Sikh camp at Ferozeshah, and took it after two days' hard fighting. The Sikhs fled across the Sutlej. The victory of Aliwal on the 26th of January 1846, and that of Sobraon a fortnight later,

Abroad.—In 1846, Texas was incorporated with the United States of America. It had revolted from Mexico in 1835, and its independence was acknowledged in 1840. Its annexation by the States led to a war with Mexico, in which the States gained California, Utah, and New Mexico.

opened the path of the British soldiers to Lahore, the capital of the Punjâb, where a treaty was signed. The British frontier was moved forward to the Beas, the Sikh army was disbanded, and all guns used against the British were given up.

8. Repeal of the Corn Laws: 1846.—The battle of Free Trade had now been transferred from the country to the House Cobden became member for Stockport in 1841. of Commons. His friend John Bright found a seat in Parliament in 1844 as member for the city of Durham, and his manly and thoroughly English speeches soon won for him a name among the foremost orators of the century. They were vigorously supported by Charles Villiers, whose annual motion on the subject since 1838 had done much to keep the question alive. like these no rest was given to the Ministry and the country until the Corn Laws were abolished. A new impetus was given to the agitation by a blight which fell on the potato crop in Ireland in 1845, and which caused sore famine and fever during the ensuing winter. The potato formed the chief food of the people. All other food was so dear that they could not afford to buy it, and they starved. These circumstances furnished the Free Traders with powerful arguments, and they influenced no one more than the Prime Minister. Sir Robert Peel had entered office as a pledged upholder of The success of his new tariff had led him to the Corn Laws. modify his views on that subject very considerably. Irish famine completed his conversion to free-trade principles. In the end of 1845, he resigned, in order to give those who had advocated these principles an opportunity of introducing Lord John Russell attempted to form a Ministry, a measure. but failed. Sir Robert Peel then resumed office; and in January 1846, he introduced a measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which became law in June. The duty on imported corn was reduced at once to four shillings per quarter; and after 1849 it was to be reduced to the nominal rate of one shilling per quarter.1 Peel generously gave the credit of the measure to

<sup>1</sup> The duty was wholly abolished in 1869 by the Gladstone Government.

Cobden, as he had given the credit of Catholic Emancipation to Canning; but his change of side for the second time alienated from him many of his supporters, prominent among whom were Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli. These malcontents were for a time known as the Protectionist party.

9. Fall of the Peel Ministry: 1846.—On the same night on which the Lords passed the Repeal Act, the Ministry was defeated by a combination of the Whigs and the Protectionists, on a Bill to repress outrages in Ireland. Peel at once resigned, and Lord John Russell became Prime Minister, and continued in office during the next six years. Richard Cobden, the champion of the people in this struggle for free bread, declared at Manchester that "if Sir Robert had lost office, he had gained a country." During the rest of his life Peel gave an independent support to the Whig ministers in furthering the free-trade policy which he had inaugurated. Mr. Disraeli soon came to be regarded as the leader of the Conservatives.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.—THE RUSSELL MINISTRY.

1. State of Ireland: 1847.—The aspect of affairs in Ireland was dark indeed when the Russell Ministry entered office. During the following winter the sufferings of the peasantry In 1847, Parliament voted a grant of ten were frightful. millions sterling for the relief of the Irish distress. public works were set on foot for the benefit of the labouring population, and cargoes of Indian meal and other articles of food were sent across the sea to Ireland. In spite of all these kindly efforts, the double drain-death and emigration-deprived Ireland of nearly two millions of people. Among those left behind, discontent and sedition were still prevalent. Before the end of the year the Government was compelled to carry through Parliament a Coercion Bill for Ireland quite as stringent as that for proposing which Peel had been turned out of office. Peel avenged himself by helping the Government to pass the Bill.

- 2. Responsible Government in Canada: 1847.—The principle of responsible government, for which the reformers in the North American Provinces had been struggling so long and so determinedly, was fairly established in 1847, not only in Canada. but also in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A despatch on tenure of office, written by Lord John Russell in 1839 when he was Colonial Secretary, had prepared the way for this. It had intimated that members of the Executive Council and the chief officials were no longer to consider themselves as appointed practically for life, but as holding office during the pleasure of the Crown or of its representative. It was appropriately reserved for the Ministry of Lord John Russell to complete the work. In 1847, Earl Grey, as Colonial Secretary, wrote a despatch in which the rule was distinctly laid down that those who directed the policy of a province should hold office only as long as they had the confidence of the majority of the representative House. The rule was very soon put in practice, and it has been acted on ever since. The beneficial results were immediately felt. Discontent was allayed: the energies of the country were turned into more useful channels than that of political agitation. The history of Canada since that time has been a history of steady and in some respects unexampled progress in industry, in commerce, in intelligence, and in the development of free institutions.
- 3. Revolutions Abroad: 1848.—The year 1848 was stormy over all Europe. Paris, Milan, Palermo, Florence, Munich, Madrid, Berlin, Buda-Pesth, Vienna, all felt the shocks of revolution more or less. But in France they were most severe. A short week of revolution in Paris (February 21–27) hurled Louis Philippe from the throne, to which the "Three Days'". Revolution of 1830 had raised him. The prohibition of a reform banquet infuriated the mob. The prohibitory notices were torn down, and the trees along the Boulevards supplied

Abroad.—In 1848, a new constitution was introduced in Switzerland. The supreme power was vested in a Federal Assembly of two Chambers, meeting at Berne. This change was the result of a war in 1947 between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic cantons.

material for barricades. In vain came concession, and then abdication on the part of the King. The throne, borne from the pillaged Tuileries, was broken to pieces, and a provisional Government announced that France had become a democratic republic. The royal family of France fled for refuge to England; and there, in the Palace of Claremont, Louis Philippe died in 1850.

- 4. Effect in England.—The only tumult in England worthy of notice was a Chartist meeting on Kennington Common (April 10th), which gathered for the purpose of escorting a petition to the House of Commons. In anticipation of a possible attack on the public offices, the Duke of Wellington put them under an elaborate system of defence. Fergus O'Connor, who was to present the petition, was made aware of the Government preparations. When the Chartists saw the streets filled with two hundred thousand citizens, sworn in as special constables, they slunk quietly through the day's programme.
- 5. Effect in Ireland.—Ireland proved a better subject for the revolutionary infection. William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Francis Meagher, leaders of the Young Ireland party, visited Paris to exchange tokens of fraternity with Lamartine and the republican leaders; but they were coldly received. During the spring, pikes and green flags were manufactured abundantly in Ireland. Seditious newspapers—of which the cleverest and most violent was the "United Irishman," edited by John Mitchell—openly advocated rebellion. The Government passed through Parliament a Security Act, constituting the new crime of "treason-felony," consisting in writing or speaking for the purpose of exciting to sedition, and punishable with

Abroad.—In 1848, the discontent of the French people with the government of Louis Philippe led to a third revolution. It was followed by disturbances in Prussia, Austria, and other German states. The King of Prussia proposed a union of all the German states. Ferdinand of Austria abdicated, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis-Joseph. In France a republic was proclaimed, of which Louis Napoleon was voted President. Having become master of Paris by a coup d'état in 1851, he was declared President for ten years. In 1852, he was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

transportation. Mitchell was convicted under the Act, and was sent to Tasmania, whence he escaped. O'Brien and Meagher were discharged. A few months later, a feeble rising under O'Brien and others took place in Tipperary, where, among the cabbages of a widow's garden, a skirmish took place which would have been amusing but for the blood that was spilled. It was suppressed by a few policemen, and the leaders were soon taken. O'Brien and Meagher were condemned to death, but the sentence was afterwards changed to exile. The others were released one by one, or were allowed to escape. O'Brien was permitted to return home after a time. Meagher, who escaped from Tasmania in 1852, found in the American Civil War a fitting outlet for the martial fire which won for him the name "Meagher of the Sword."

6. Second Sikh War: 1849.—The Earl of Dalhousie, the greatest of Indian Viceroys, succeeded Hardinge in the government of India in January 1848. Six months later, events occurred which led to a second Sikh War. It originated in a rebellion at Mooltan, where two British officers, who had gone there to install a new governor, were murdered. The Sikhs, strongly posted at Chillianwalla on the Jhelum, were attacked by Lord Gough on the 13th of January 1849. The victory was doubtful, and the loss of the British was so severe that their leader was greatly blamed for having risked the engagement. Eight days later, however, Mooltan surrendered to General

Abroad.—In 1849, the independence of Hungary was proclaimed by Louis-Kossuth; but this displeased the officers of the army. The Hungarians were defeated by the Austrians and Russians, the revolution collapsed, and Kossuth fled to Turkey, and thence to England. The Emperor Francis-Joseph was crowned King of Hungary in 1867.

In 1849, the Sardinians, attempting to drive the Austrians out of Italy, were defeated at Novara. Charles-Albert of Sardinia was then forced to abdicate in favour of his son Victor Emanuel, afterwards King of Italy.

In 1849, France sent troops to the assistance of the Pope, and took Rome. An insurrection, headed by the "Young Italy" party, had broken out in 1848, and a popular government was proclaimed. The Pope appealed to the Catholic Powers, and France sent him aid. He returned to the Vatican in 1850. Rome was garrisoned by French troops till 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war rendered their withdrawal necessary.

Whish. On the 21st of February, at Goojerat, Gough utterly routed an immense host of Sikhs, and thus redeemed his fame. The Punjâb was shortly afterwards, by a proclamation of the Governor-General, annexed by the Indian Government (March 30). (See Map, page 220.)

- 7. The Australian Colonies: 1850.—An Act settling the form of government in the Australian colonies was passed in 1850. It led, in the course of the next year or two, to the establishment of representative governments in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. The discovery of gold in Australia about this time (1850) gave a great impetus to the colonization and development of that continent. The first gold-field was discovered near Bathurst, in New South Wales. Soon afterwards the precious metal was found also in Victoria, which has from the first yielded more gold than any other colony. During recent years, wool and bread-stuffs have become more valuable products of the Australian colonies than gold.
- 8. Death of Peel: 1850.—In the middle of 1850, Sir Robert Peel was thrown from his horse while riding in St. James's Park, London, and died a few days afterwards from the effects of his injuries (July 2). Peel was universally respected and admired as one of the most honest, courageous, and patriotic of English statesmen. Great as his reputation was in his own day, it has increased as the asperities of partisanship have disappeared, and as the uprightness and purity of his character have become better known.
- 9. The First Great Exhibition: 1851.—The Great Exhibition of the Industries of all Nations, held in London in 1851, was a striking proof of the rapid development which the resources of the country had lately undergone. To Prince Albert is due the credit of first starting the idea of this great enterprise. It was, indeed, a splendid success. It gave a great impulse to every branch of manufactures and of arts, while, by drawing together men of every complexion, costume, and national character, who met under the same roof for the same peaceful end, it caused a kindlier feeling to prevail among the

nations of the earth. Similar exhibitions have since been held at London repeatedly, as well as at Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Paris, Vienna, and Philadelphia.

- 10. Ministerial Difficulties: 1850-51.—The Opposition had now become better organized under the leadership of Mr. Benjamin Disraell, who had made himself famous by his bitter attacks on Sir Robert Peel, his former leader. Every session he introduced a motion impeaching the policy of the Government. Under these repeated attacks, the Government majority gradually declined. It was 21 in 1850; it was only 14 in 1851. A month later Mr. Locke King's motion in favour of assimilating the county to the borough franchise was carried against the Government by 100 to 52. Notwithstanding the smallness of the House on that occasion, Russell resigned; but as Lord Stanley was unable to form a Ministry, Russell returned to office. When Locke King's County Franchise Bill was introduced, it was rejected by 299 to 83.
- 11. Fall of the Russell Ministry: 1852.—Four months later the Russell Ministry again got into trouble. In September 1850, Pope Pius IX. issued a Bull creating a number of Roman Catholic bishops in England. It caused a panic among Protestants, under the influence of which the Government passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, declaring the Papal Bull null and void, and imposing fines on those who gave effect to it (July The Bill excited much opposition, and when passed it No attempt was made to put it at once became a dead letter. in force.1 In December, Lord Palmerston was summarily dismissed from his office as Foreign Secretary, because on his own authority he had signified approval of Louis Napoleon's coup d'état in Paris. He retaliated by overthrowing the Govern-Early in 1852, he carried an amendment to a Government Militia Bill, and Russell resigned. Lord Stanley, now Earl of Derby, then formed a Conservative Ministry, in which Mr. Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons (February).

<sup>1</sup> It was repealed in 1871.

- 12. Second Burmese War: 1852.—A second Burmese War broke out in 1852. The Governor of Rangoon having ill-treated the commanders of two British vessels, Commodore Lambert was sent by the Indian Government to demand compensation. He was met with an insulting refusal. A second attempt to arrange the difficulty also failed; and a British army then entered Burma. Martaban on the shore, Rangoon on the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, and Pegu on the river of the same name, were soon captured. A determined effort of the Burmese to recover Pegu was bravely met by the Madras Fusiliers. Notwithstanding these severe losses, the Court of Ava still refused to treat with the Indian Government; and the province of Pegu was made an integral part of the British dominions in the East. (See Map, page 191.)
- 13. Death of Wellington: 1852.—On the 14th of September in the same year (1852) the "Iron Duke," as Wellington was proudly called by his grateful countrymen, died at Walmer Castle, aged eighty-three. On the 18th of November his coffin was borne with warlike honours to St. Paul's, and was laid beside the dust of Nelson.
- 14. The Aberdeen Ministry: 1852.—In the hope of strengthening the Ministry in the House of Commons, Lord Derby had recourse to a dissolution of Parliament in July. The new House of Commons assembled in November; but although the Government had abandoned Protection, it failed to secure a majority. It was defeated on the Budget proposals, and resigned in December. The Earl of Aberdeen then formed a Coalition Ministry, consisting of Whigs and Peelites, and including Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone, the last being Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Ministry was pledged to a free-trade policy, and the further development of Peel's principles of finance.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE RUSSIAN WAR.

- 1. Gladstone's First Budget: 1853.—The late Government having been defeated on its financial proposals, the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's first Budget, in May 1853, was regarded as a critical occasion for the new Ministry. It turned out a remarkable success, and strengthened the position of the Government. It was the first of a series of masterly Budgets, expounded in brilliant speeches, which established Mr. Gladstone's reputation as one of the ablest financiers and foremost orators of the century. His object was to apply the principle of Peel's New Tariff on a more extended scale. He either abolished or greatly reduced the duty on upwards of two hundred and fifty separate articles. The chief remission he made was that of the soap duty, which involved a loss to the revenue of £1,110,000. He arranged for the reduction of the duty on tea from 2s. 2d. to 1s, per pound. The total reduction of taxes he estimated at £1,656,000. To obtain a surplus with which to meet this loss, he taxed incomes between £100 and £150, and extended the income-tax to Ireland; he readjusted the succession duties, and increased the duties on spirits and on brewers' licenses. comprehensive scheme provoked a good deal of criticism, but it was carried without material change (May 2). Mr. Gladstone retained the income-tax, because of its convenience as a means of raising money in emergencies, but he held out the hope of its gradual extinction before 1860. His next Budget was a war Budget, and it doubled the income-tax.
- 2. Russia and Turkey: 1853-54.—For several years a dispute about the Holy Places 1 at Jerusalem had been causing irritation between Russia and Turkey. The Czar made this an excuse for claiming protection over all members of the Greek Church within the Turkish dominions. Turkey rejected the demand. Suddenly Russia pushed her troops across the Pruth

<sup>1</sup> Holy Places, the Holy Sepulchre, the relied for the possession and guardianship Church at Bethlehem, etc. For centuries of these places. The territory on which the Greek and Latin Churches have quarthey stand is now the property of Turkey.



into Moldavia, which, with its neighbouring principality. Wallachia, she wished to hold as "a material guarantee" (July 2). This step led Turkey to declare war (October 5). Some weeks later a British fleet entered the Bosporus; for Britain and France had resolved to interfere on the part of Turkey, desirous both of defending the weak against the strong and of preserving the balance of power. Though anxious to the last to bring the rupture to a peaceful close, the Allies nevertheless thought it well to prepare for emergencies by sending their united fleets into the Black Sea (January 4). The Russian Ambassador soon left London, and war was formally declared against Russia by Great Britain and France on the 28th of March 1854.

- 3. The Secretaryship of War: 1854.—The declaration of war did not find the British army ready at once to take the field. In order that the preparations might be pushed forward with vigour, the Secretaryship of War was separated from that of the Colonies, and the "Secretary at War" became a Parliamentary Under-Secretary. The Duke of Newcastle retained the War Secretaryship, and Sir George Grey went to the Colonial Office. The navy was, as usual, in a much better state of preparedness.
- 4. Beginning of Hostilities: 1854.—The first operation of the war was the bombardment of Odessa,1 the batteries of which opened fire on a British boat proceeding under a flag of truce to carry off the Consul. For this flagrant outrage the city suffered severely under the guns of twelve war-steamers. Although the British took no direct part in the war on the Danube, the siege of Silistria<sup>2</sup> is memorable for the heroic part taken in its defence by two young Anglo-Indian officers, going home on leave-Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth. Sir Charles Napier, commanding the Baltic fleet, destroyed the batteries of Bomarsund,3 and reconnoitred the great for-

ish side of the Danube. Its siege, by a station of the Russian fleet, in the island force of 60,000 Russians, began 17th May of Aland, in the Baltic.

 <sup>1</sup> Odessa, a fortified Russian port on the Black Sea; near the mouth of the Dniester. It has large exports of grain.
 2 Silistria, a fortified city on the Turk.
 3 Bomarsund, a fortified sea-port, and



tress of Cronstadt, which guards the approach to the Russian capital.

- 5. Invasion of the Crimea: 1854.—But the Crimea was the chief theatre of the war. An army of 51,000 men, under Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, landed at Eupatoria on the 14th of September. As they pressed southward along the shore, they found 60,000 Russians lining the steep slopes on the left bank of the Alma. The battle, fought on the 20th, was confined to infantry and artillery. In three hours the passage of the river was forced, the southern heights were scaled, and the Russians fell back on Sebastopol, their great stronghold. The Allies then took up a position on the south of that city. Behind the British army, some six miles distant, was the port of Balaklava, where lay their ships and stores. On the 17th of October, the city was bombarded by land and sea. But the Russians had made good use of their time, and the works, strong before, were now almost impregnable.
- 6. Battle of Balaklava: 1854.—On October 25, a Russian attack on the British lines at Balaklava was nobly repulsed. Forcing the redoubts, which the Turks failed to hold, the Russians were rapidly breaking in on the lines, when a single Highland regiment—the 93rd, led by Sir Colin Campbell—deployed in a double line, and, with the rifle only, brought the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eupatoria, a Russian sea-port on the west coast of the Crimea; 50 miles north of Sebastopol, Balaklava, and Inkermann, see Map of the Black Sea on page 232, and of Sebastopol, For this and for the Alma, Map of the Crimea on page 233,



enemy to a stop. The Brigade of Heavy Horse—Scots Greys, Enniskillens, and Dragoon Guards—dashed through a mass of Russian cavalry thrice their number. But an interest more intense belongs to the heroic feat of the "Light Brigade." By a mistake, a band of Light Horsemen, little more in number than six hundred, rode a mile down a slight slope, exposed to a merciless cross-fire, for the purpose of saving a few guns from capture. They reached the battery, sabred the gunners, and rode back again. Not two hundred escaped from the carnage of that charge. A French cavalry regiment then coming up, caused a part of the attacking Russian force to retreat, which led to the final rout of the whole.

7. Battle of Inkermann: 1854.—There were two battles of Inkermann. The first, won by Sir De Lacy Evans and General Bosquet, repulsed a formidable sortie from Sebastopol on the day after the conflict of Balaklava. The second, a fierce struggle, ending in a great victory, took place on Sunday, the 5th of November. In the dusk of the morning, a host of 60,000 Russians, concealed by fog, pressed up the hill toward the British lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On this incident Tennyson wrote his "Charge of the Light Brigade."

An earthwork, called the Two-gun Battery, formed the centre of the engagement. Finding the Russians in possession of this

place. the Grenadier Guards, scarcely nine hundred in force, dashed gallantly on, supported by the Fusiliers, cleared the battery, and kept it all day in spite of everything that the enemy could do. Inkermann differed from most modern battles in its want of a plan, and in the opportunity thus afforded for the display of individual prowess. It was emphatically the soldiers who won the day, not the generals. French arrived late in the day, and saved the heroic line of exhausted men from giving way to numbers that seemed to have no end. Eight



thousand British troops, helped by six thousand French, kept the heights of Inkermann that day against a Russian force four times as great.

\*8. The Winter at Balaklava: 1854-55.—During the winter the troops suffered greatly from want of food and shelter, although ships laden with stores thronged Balaklava Harbour. When the actual state of affairs became known at home, a cry arose for remedy, inquiry, and redress. A noble band of women, led by Florence Nightingale, went out to tend the sick and the wounded at Scutari and elsewhere. The pity of the nation took a practical shape in the formation of commit-

tees, the establishment of funds, and the transmission of supplies to Balaklava.

- 9. Palmerston Prime Minister: 1855.—In January 1855. Roebuck's motion taxing the Ministry with mismanagement of the war, and proposing a committee of inquiry, was passed in the Commons by a majority of 157 votes. The Earl of Aberdeen then resigned, and Lord Palmerston became the head of a Coalition Ministry which included all the members of the late Cabinet excepting Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle. More active measures were at once taken. A railway soon stretched from Balaklava to the camp, and then was seen the strange spectacle of a locomotive puffing to the field of war with supplies of food, or with a deadly load of shot and shell. There were other novel features in this war, unknown to the heroes of Vittoria and Waterloo. A telegraph connected Balaklava with London, where every turn in the great struggle was known an hour or two after its occurrence. The leading newspapers, too, had reporters in the camp, the most distinguished of whom was Dr. William Russell, the "special correspondent" of the Times.
- 10. Ministerial Changes: 1855.—The Palmerston Ministry had to be reconstituted when it was only a few days old. The Prime Minister's proposal to accept Roebuck's motion for a committee of inquiry was strongly objected to by the Peelites on constitutional grounds, and they resigned. Sir George Cornwall Lewis became Chancellor of the Exchequer in place of Mr. Gladstone, and Lord John Russell succeeded Mr. Sidney Herbert as Colonial Secretary.
- 11. The Vienna Conference: 1855.—The Czar Nicholas died in March 1855, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. A Conference of the European powers was held at Vienna shortly afterwards, in the hope of the terms of peace being arranged; but it proved fruitless. It threatened, however, a ministerial crisis in England. Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary, who had acted as British Plenipotentiary at the Conference, strongly urged the continuance of the war on his return, though it was discovered that at Vienna he had favoured peace pro-

posals. Notice was given of a vote of censure on him, and to avoid embarrassing the Ministry he resigned.

- 12. Continuance of the War: 1855.—The war continued with unabated energy. The Russians in Sebastopol had not wasted the opportunities afforded by the comparative rest of winter. In particular, they had strengthened their lines of defence with earthworks. The Mamelon, the Malakoff, the Redan, the Flagstaff Battery, and other defences assumed a size and strength unknown before. Sorties and advances kept the men on duty in the trenches and the rifle-pits always on the alert; but the Russians gained no decisive advantage in these frequent struggles. An expedition to Kertch 1 and the Sea of Azov, in May 1855, destroyed many Russian ships and Twice during the war the French and the several towns. British leaders were changed. Marshal St. Arnaud, dying after the victory of Alma, was followed by Canrobert, who in May 1855 gave place to the victorious Pelissier. In the following month Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, died of cholera. General Simpson then took the command; but he was soon displaced by Sir William Codrington.
- 13. Battle of the Tchernaya: 1855.—In August, Prince Gortschakoff, who had been the great director of the Russian defence, felt that there was but one hope left—such a success in the field as might force the Allies to raise the siege. Accordingly on the 16th of August he made an attack in force on the French position at a bridge on the River Tchernaya. Pelissier repulsed the advance with signal success, and afforded the Sardinians, who had joined the Allies in winter under Della Marmora, an opportunity of showing their valour.
- 14. Fall of Sebastopol: 1855.—After a last bombardment, the sixth in number and the most terrific in violence, which lasted night and day from the 6th to the 8th of September, a double assault was made on the Malakoff and the Redan. A brilliant and resistless rush left the French masters of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kertch, a town on the shore of the Strait of Yenikale, leading from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov.

Malakoff in a quarter of an hour; nor could all the efforts of the Russians, maintained with overwhelming forces for many hours, succeed in dislodging them. Not so fared the British in the Redan. When the French flag floated over the Malakoff, the attacking force left the British trenches for the Redan. There were only a thousand men, and during their race of two hundred vards to the foot of the angle at which their rush was directed, many fell under the sweeping fire that met them. With difficulty they scrambled over the ditch into the work; and there, huddled into a corner, on which converged a pitiless fire from many points, they stood waiting for reinforcements that never came. Colonel Windham, reckless of the danger he incurred, rushed out of the work to General Codrington to urge the instant advance of a supporting force. spirit of the men gave way in his absence, and those who could leaped from the Redan and fled to the trenches. that night Gortschakoff led the Russian garrison across the harbour to the northern part of the city, which they held till peace was concluded. Before their flight the Russians sank their ships. All the batteries and dockyards were blown up by the Allies, and the grand fortress of Southern Russia was rendered powerless and untenable.

15. Close of the War: 1856.—During the summer of 1855, Admiral Dundas, who had superseded Sir Charles Napier in the command of the Baltic fleet, inflicted a severe blow on Russia by the bombardment of Sveaborg 2 (August 9-11, 1855). Russian War raged also in Circassia, where the brave chief Schamyl fought against the troops of the Czar. Kars.<sup>3</sup> the central point of attack, was nobly defended by General Williams, until the want of reinforcements compelled him to surrender. Crippled both on the Baltic and on the Black Sea,

1 Malakoff Tower, a strongly fortified | town, built on islands in the north of the Gulf of Finland, opposite Helsingfors.

tower on a hill of the same name, forming the chief defence of Sebastopol on Russia took it from Sweden in 1789. the southern side. The Mamelon and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sveaborg, a strongly fortified Russian houses are all built of black basalt.

<sup>3</sup> Kars, a fortified city of Asiatic Tur-Redan were strong works on the same key; 100 miles inland from the southeastern shore of the Black Sea. The

Russia at last sought for peace. The treaty was signed at Paris in March 1856. The neutrality of the Black Sea was declared: it was to be open to the merchant ships of all nations, and closed to their ships of war. Any dispute arising between Turkey and any of the Great Powers was to be referred to their joint decision. The concessions granted to the Christian population were to be maintained. Conquests were to be restored, but Russia was deprived of the southern portion of Bessarabia. The independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the suzerainty of Turkey, was secured.

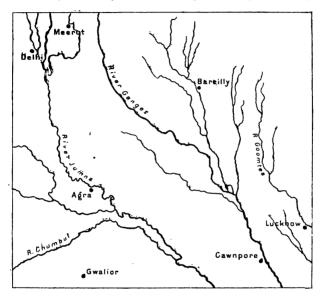
## CHAPTER XXIX.—WARS IN ASIA.

- 1. War with Persia: 1856-57.—Before the Russian War was over, Great Britain was embroiled with Persia. A Convention made in 1853 had declared the independence of Herat, a city and state on the borders of Khorassan and Afghanistan, so placed as to command the approaches to India through the Hindoo Koosh. Persia now interfered, with regard to a disputed succession in that state; but evidently the movement was the result of Russian intrigues. The British Government resented the interference, and war was declared in November 1856. A squadron under Admiral Leeke, with troops on board, appeared (December 7) off Bushire, which stands on a peninsula in the Persian Gulf, separated from the mainland by swamps. As the troops landed, some shots were fired from clumps of date-trees; but the opposition was of the slightest kind. Bushire soon fell before a cannonade. Then came Sir James Outram, with Havelock under his command, who entirely defeated the Persians, and took several of their fortified places. Lessons such as these brought Persia to submission, and to an acknowledgment of the independence of Herat. Peace was concluded in March 1857.
  - 2. War with China: 1856-57.—A new Chinese War began in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These provisions were cancelled by the Congress of London in 1871.

- 1856. A lorcha, or small native ship, called the Arrow, flying the British flag, was boarded in the Canton River by the Chinese police, who, being in search of a pirate, arrested the crew. Sir John Bowring, the British Minister at Hong-Kong, demanded an apology from Commissioner Yeh of Canton. A refusal led to an attack on the forts which defended that city, and to the shelling of the city itself in October. These severe measures were made the ground of a motion in the House of Commons, proposed by Cobden, and carried against the Government by a majority of 16. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, and obtained a large majority, while Cobden and his friends Bright and Milner Gibson lost their seats (March 1857).
- 3. The War Renewed: 1857-58.—Finding in this a warrant for continuing his policy in China, Palmerston joined with the French Government in sending the Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros as plenipotentiaries to Hong-Kong. Free admission to Canton for British subjects having been demanded and refused, the bombardment of the city was renewed (December 28, 1857), and next morning British and French soldiers scaled the walls and took the town. Yeh was sent as a captive to Calcutta. The plenipotentiaries sailed to Tien-tsin, a city at the entrance of the Grand Canal, and there (June 26, 1858) was signed a treaty opening to British trade five new ports, Formosa and Hainan among them, and allowing British subjects with passports to go to any part of the interior. Lord Elgin then went to Japan, landed in state at Jeddo, and concluded a treaty on terms favourable to British trade.
  - 4. Dalhousie's Indian Policy.—In India, Lord Dalhousie, though strongly inclined for peace, was led by circumstances to carry out the policy of annexation with a firm hand. Berar in 1853, Jhansi in 1854, Nagpore in the same year, and, greatest of all, Oudh in 1856, were the trophies of his administrative talent. Moslems and Hindus in Oudh having come into fierce collision, and the King seeming to be involved in the war, a body of British troops marched to Lucknow, deposed the monarch, and completed the work of annexation.
    - 5. Outbreak of the Mutiny: 1857.—Early in 1856 Lord

Dalhousie gave place to Viscount Canning, a son of the great statesman George Canning. During his administration the Mutiny occurred. It broke out at Meerut, near Delhi, on the 10th of May 1857, by the 3rd Bengal Cavalry attacking the



prison. There some of their comrades had been confined for refusing to bite tartridges, which they alleged were greased with cow's fat so as to make the Indians lose caste, or undergo social degradation. Not content with liberating their comrades, the Sepoys set some houses on fire and murdered several Europeans. The mutineers then marched to Delhi, which was garrisoned by Sepoys. Fortunately a British officer blew up the powder-magazine at Delhi before the rebels could seize it. A similar outbreak took place at Lucknow on the 31st of May. These two capitals became the great centres of the strife. On receiving the news, Sir John Lawrence, Commissioner in the Punjâb, at once disarmed the Sepoys at Lahore; and the example was followed at Peshawur and Mooltan.

- 6. The Cawnpore Massacre: 1857.—On the 4th of June 1857, the siege of Delhi was begun by an army of about 3,000 men, almost all Europeans. About the same time Sir Henry Lawrence (elder brother of Sir John), upon whom his own guns had been treacherously turned, took refuge in the Residency of Lucknow, and was there besieged by Sepoys. the 27th of June a number of Europeans, who had fled out of Cawnpore to a hastily-formed intrenchment in the neighbourhood, surrendered to the Mahratta chief, generally known as Nana Sahib, on condition that he would supply them with boats in which to float down the Ganges to Allahabad. promise was a cruel snare. All the men but two were slain, either in the boats or on the banks of the river. The women and children were thrust into a small dwelling-house, where they were ordered to be put to death by Nana Sahib when he heard of the advance of a relieving force under Colonel Henry Havelock. They were butchered without mercy, and their bodies were thrown into a well close by (July 15).
- 7. Siege of Lucknow: 1857.—On the following day, the 16th of July, Colonel Havelock drove Nana Sahib from Cawnpore, and saw for himself the traces of the pitiless cruelty that had been perpetrated there. The relief of Lucknow, whose defender, Sir Henry Lawrence, had already received his death-wound, then became the great task of Havelock. On the 25th of July he set out from Cawnpore. Sir James Outram, who had been sent to supersede Havelock, generously declined to interfere with his operations, and served with him as a volunteer. elock and Outram crossed the Ganges with 2,800 men on the 19th of September, pushed their way on to the Alumbagh, which they took, and reached the Residency at Lucknow on the 23rd, where they were received with joy. It soon appeared, however, that the women and children could not be removed; so that Havelock and Outram were themselves besieged in the place which they had come to succour.
- 8. Fall of Delhi: 1857.—The fall of Delhi, on the 20th of September, was mainly due to Sir John Lawrence, Commissioner in the Punjâb. By almost superhuman exertions he gathered

forces of every kind, and sent down heavy cannon to breach the walls. Sir Archdale Wilson and General Nicholson were the, officers under whose command the siege was brought to a successful end.

- 9. End of the Mutiny: 1857-58.—Sir Colin Campbell, who had been hastily sent out from England to take the command, then marched to the relief of Lucknow, which he entered on the 17th of November. From the Residency, round which the earth was honeycombed with mines, those who survived the siege were removed to a place of safety. Sir Colin then defeated the Gwalior mutineers, and swept the basin of the Ganges, gradually trampling out the rebellion. On the 2nd of March 1858, he cleared Lucknow of rebels. The fall of Bareilly on May 7th was the closing act of the terrible drama. these services the veteran chief received the title of Lord Clyde of Clydesdale, and later the baton of a field-marshal. Sir Hugh Rose also rendered splendid service in helping to suppress the Mutiny. He accomplished a successful march from Bombay to Bengal, taking Jhansi and recapturing Gwalior for Scindia, the firm ally of Great Britain.
- 10. Fall of the Palmerston Ministry: 1858.—In the meantime, a change of Ministry had taken place at home. In consequence of a plot formed in England to assassinate the Emperor of the French, Lord Palmerston introduced a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, making such conspiracy a felony punishable with penal servitude. On the second reading of the Bill the Ministry was defeated, and therefore resigned. In February the Earl of Derby became a second time Prime Minister.
- 11. New India Act: 1858.—The India Act of 1858, extinguishing the East India Company as a ruling body, was the work of the Derby Ministry. It was deemed necessary to strengthen the administration of India by putting it directly under the Government at home. On the 1st of November, a public proclamation was read at Calcutta, declaring that the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland had assumed the direct control and sovereignty of India, which would thenceforth be ruled by a Viceroy in her name. The Board of Control was

abolished, and the home government of India was intrusted to a Secretary of State and a Council of fifteen.

12. Jewish Relief Act: 1858.—A struggle concerning the admission of Jews into Parliament, which had long been a bone of contention between the two Houses, was now brought to a The first Jewish Relief Bill was passed by the House of Commons in 1833, and was rejected by the Lords. same course was repeated in 1848 and 1853. In the general election of 1847, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, a wealthy Jewish banker, was returned as member for the city of London; but he was not allowed to take his seat. His election gave the same kind of personal interest to the struggle that O'Connell's return for Clare County in 1828 had given to the question of Catholic Rothschild, who was the first Jew ever returned to Relief. Parliament, was re-elected in 1849; but with the same result. In 1851, Alderman Salomons, having been returned for Greenwich, took the oath, omitting the words "on the faith of a Christian:" but for this he was fined £500 by the Court of Queen's Bench. Now at length the question was settled, chiefly by the exertions of Lord John Russell. An Act was passed enabling either House to modify its oath by resolution. In the case of a Jew, the oath is taken on the Old Testament, and the words "on the faith of a Christian" are omitted. On July 26, 1858, Baron Rothschild 1 took the modified oath on assuming his seat for the city of London.

## CHAPTER XXX.—FRANCHISE EXTENSION.

1. The Radical Demands.—Parliamentary representation had remained practically unchanged since 1832. A Corrupt Practices Act had been passed (1854), and the property qualification of members of the House of Commons had been abolished (1858); Roman Catholics, Jews, and Nonconformists of every sect had been admitted to Parliament; but the franchise re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> His eldest son, Nathanael Meyer, was created a British peer—the first Jew ennobled in England—in 1885.

mained unchanged. The necessity for a further extension of it had long been evident. The Act of 1832 left the representation in the hands of the propertied class, though within the limits of that class it was widened. The masses of the peoplethe democracy—were still outside of the enfranchised circle. It had, however, been brought so near to them that it had quickened their desire to be embraced within it. Important social and industrial questions were pressing for settlement. Every day new questions were arising in connection with the relations of capital and labour. So long as legislation was mainly in the hands of the capitalists, the labouring classes could expect little benefit. Not merely an extension but a complete reconstruction of the representative system was demanded in the interest of the democracy, and with a view to the just settlement of other questions. The demand was raised and supported within the House of Commons itself by a small but growing body of Radical reformers, conspicuous among whom were George Grote, the historian of Greece, John Arthur Roebuck, Joseph Hume, Locke King, and Edward Baines. As early as 1833, Grote introduced for the first time his annual motion in favour of the ballot. Other points raised werehousehold suffrage, the assimilation of the county with the borough franchise, and triennial Parliaments. These sweeping proposals at first alarmed the Whig aristocrats who had carried the Reform Act of 1832. Lord John Russell himself had asserted the "finality" of that measure.

2. The Reform Bill of 1854.—The exigencies of party government by-and-by forced the Whigs, and even the Tories, to give consideration to the Radical claims. It fell to the lot of Lord John Russell to be the first minister to falsify his own declaration of finality. In 1854, as a member of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, he introduced a Reform Bill which proposed a £10 rating franchise in counties and a £6 franchise in boroughs, together with educational, professional, and other "fancy" franchises, which were intended as concessions to the Radicals. The Bill was ultimately withdrawn, owing to the outbreak of the Russian War.

- 3. The Reform Bill of 1859.—The question was not again raised till 1859, and it was raised by the Conservatives. Lord Derby found himself in the unfortunate position of having to carry on his government with the majority of the House of Commons against him. He hoped to secure a majority by adopting the Liberal tactics and bringing in a Reform Bill. On the 28th of February, Mr. Disraeli explained the Government proposals in the House of Commons. They included the assimilation of the county with the borough franchise—the latter remaining unchanged—a lodger franchise, and educational and other "fancy" franchises. The debate on the second reading lasted for seven nights, after which Lord John Russell's adverse amendment was carried by thirty-nine votes.
- 4. The Reform Bill of 1860.—Lord Derby appealed to the country, but that did not give him the majority he hoped for. When the new Parliament met on the 31st of May 1859, the debate in the Commons on the Address turned on the conduct of ministers, who were left in a minority of thirteen. They resigned, therefore, on the 17th of June; and were succeeded by Lord Palmerston, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Minister, and Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord John Russell brought forward a Reform Bill in 1860, which proposed a £10 franchise in counties and a £6 qualification in boroughs; but, being coldly received, it was withdrawn. Six years passed before a Reform Bill was again introduced as a Government measure.
- 5. The Volunteer Movement: 1859.—The interference of the French Emperor in the affairs of Italy combined with other things to create a suspicion that, like the first Napoleon, whom he made his model, he intended to adopt an aggressive foreign policy. The uneasiness felt in Great Britain suggested the Volunteer movement, which was sanctioned by the Derby Government in May 1859. With the temperate words Defence, not Defiance as its motto, a great citizen army was rapidly enrolled. Before the end of the year, it numbered 180,000 riflemen and artillerymen, of whom some 50,000 were declared to be ready for service in the field.

- 6. Mr. Gladstone's Budgets: 1859-65.--Mr. Gladstone had entered on the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer with the intention of carrying out the financial principles of Peel, especially in two directions—the reduction of indirect taxes foreshadowed in Peel's New Tariff, and the extension of free trade. following on the repeal of the Corn Laws. The uneasiness prevailing in Europe, and the consequent necessity for strengthening the national defences, made it necessary that he should proceed with caution at first; but in the course of the following six years he produced a series of brilliant budgets which completely revolutionized the fiscal system of the country. 1845, the articles subject to customs duties were 1163; in 1853, they were 460; in 1859, 419. Mr. Gladstone stated that when the changes he proposed were carried out, only 48 articles would remain on the tariff. At the same time (1860) a commercial treaty, negotiated by Mr. Cobden, was concluded with France, under which the value of the exports to that country was doubled in two years.
- 7. Chinese War: 1860.—The war with China was renewed in 1860. When the British envoy was about to ascend the Peiho for the purpose of having the Treaty of Tien-tsin ratified, he was fired on at the mouth of the river. An expedition under Sir Hope Grant and Admiral Grant proceeded to avenge the insult. After destroying the Taku forts, they captured the Summer Palace at Pekin on the 6th of October; but Pekin did not surrender until the 12th. A Convention, signed October 24, ceded to Great Britain a district of the province of Canton called Cowloon.

Abroad.—In 1859, a war broke out between Sardinia and Austria for the possession of Northern Italy: France aided Sardinia. Austria was defeated. Sardinia gained Lombardy, and France was rewarded by the cession of Savoy and Nice. In 1860, Garibaldi conquered Naples, which was annexed to Sardinia. The other Italian states (excepting part of the Papal Territory and Venetia) were amalgamated with the new Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emanuel, which held its first Parliament at Turin in 1861. In 1865, Florence was made the capital temporarily. In 1866, Venetia was ceded by Austria to France, and added to Italy. In 1871, after the withdrawal of the French troops, Rome was made the capital. The temporal power of the Popes (begun in 754) then came to an end, but the Pope's spiritual supremacy was not interfered with.

- 8. The American Civil War: 1860.—The American Civil War, between the Southern or Confederate States and the Northern or Federal Government, which now attracted the earnest attention of Europe, was one of the most momentous struggles in which a great nation ever engaged. The war had its origin in the demand of the North for the abolition of slavery, which was carried on chiefly in the South. In 1860, the election of President turned on the question whether slave-owners might settle in the Territories of the Union, taking their slaves with them. Abraham Lincoln, a noted abolitionist, was elected. This was a great triumph for the North and for the abolition party. When the Southern or Slave States found themselves defeated, they resolved to secede from the Union, and to form a new Union in which slavery would be allowed. The North denied the right of any State to secede, and on that technical point the war was waged, although there was behind it the great question of the abolition of slavery. Six of the Southern States seceded at once, and five others followed a few months later.
- 9. Attitude of Great Britain: 1861-62.—The first shot of the war was fired on the 9th January 1861 in Charleston Harbour, when a battery on Morris Island cannonaded a Federal ship going with troops to Fort Sumter. Adhering closely to a policy of non-intervention, Great Britain watched the progress of the struggle keenly until an incident, trifling enough in appearance, almost embroiled her in the war. On board the Trent, a British steam-packet plying between Havana and St. Thomas, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, two Southern envoys bound for Europe, were seized by Captain Wilkes of the Federal cruiser San Jacinto, and placed on board of his ship (Nov. 8). The British Government resented this, and matters assumed a very serious aspect. It soon appeared, however, to President Lincoln and Secretary Seward that a mistake had been made, and the envoys were placed on board a British vessel. The

Abroad.—In 1861, the Czar of Russia issued a decree for the total abolition of serfage within two years. The number of slaves thus emancipated was 23,000,000.

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policy of non-intervention was afterwards steadily maintained. The Americans, however, held Great Britain liable for the damage inflicted in 1862 by a Confederate cruiser, the Alabama, because the vessel had been built on the Mersey; and it was decided by a court of arbitration, which met at Geneva (1872), that Great Britain should pay to the United States Government upwards of three millions sterling, as compensation for the injury done by the Alabama and other Confederate cruisers fitted out at British ports. Long before the award was given, the feelings of irritation on both sides had entirely disappeared.

- 10. Repeal of the Paper Duty: 1861.—In the Budget of the year 1861, Mr. Gladstone's proposal to repeal the Paper Duty was included, and it excited strong Conservative opposition, which, however, was unavailing. The clause relating to this tax was carried in Committee by a majority of fifteen. In the previous year a Bill for the Abolition of the Duty on Paper was passed by the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. As the Bill was in fact, though not in form, a Money Bill, the action of the Lords was condemned by the Commons as unconstitutional. By including the Paper Duty with their other financial proposals in a single Bill, the Government took the matter out of the hands of the House of Lords. In the same Budget, Mr. Gladstone reduced the import duty on light wines, and this caused a very large increase in the quantity imported.
- 11. Death of the Prince Consort: 1861.—The last month of 1861 was saddened by the death of the Prince Consort, who well deserved the title accorded to him by public writers and speakers of every class—Albert the Good. Fully aware of the delicate position he held as a foreigner and a subject, and yet as the husband of the Queen, he carefully avoided all interference with the affairs of Government, while his advice was ever ready in emergency. His share in the success of the Great International Exhibition of 1851 has been referred to already. To him also was mainly due the origin of the extensive Museum of Science and Art formed at South Kensington.
- 12. Cotton Famine: 1862.—The year 1862 passed without much domestic incident to mark it. Across the Atlantic the

war still raged with varying fortune. At home debates on national education excited much attention. The revised code, classifying children by age, and paying according to results, drew forth much variety of opinion. The International Exhibition of the same year, which drew crowds to London from all parts of the world, displayed a wonderful advance in the industrial arts. The disastrous war in America interfered seriously with the Lancashire cotton manufacture, by stopping the supply of cotton. Great distress followed; but the sympathy of the higher classes led to the formation of a fund which to some extent mitigated the evil.

- 13. Royal Marriages.—On the 10th of March 1863, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, married the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. Other marriages have linked the royal house to different Continental thrones. In 1858, the Princess Royal became the wife of Prince Frederick-William, afterwards the Crown Prince of Prussia, and ultimately Emperor of Germany, though only for three months. In 1874, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, married the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia; and in 1879, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, married the Princess Louise of Prussia.
- 14. The Ionian Islands: 1863-64.—The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, which since 1814 had been under British protection, and administered by British commissioners, declared in 1863 in favour of union with Greece. Five years previously Mr. Gladstone had been sent to the islands on a special mission to inquire into their political position. The Government, of which Mr. Gladstone was a leading member, now assented to the transference, and it took place in the following year.
- 15. Denmark Abandoned: 1864.—British foreign policy was somewhat discredited by Lord John Russell's feeble effort to support Denmark in her struggle with Prussia and Austria. The point in dispute was the possession of the Duchies of

Abroad.—In 1863, the Russian Government ordered a conscription in Poland, which was intended to remove all the young men of the higher and middle classes from their country. The Poles rose in rebellion, but the rising was put down with great cruelty.

Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. Practically the British Government abandoned Denmark to its fate, and the three duchies were ceded to Prussia. Motions of want of confidence in ministers were proposed in both Houses of Parliament. In the Commons, Mr. Disraeli declared that the course adopted by the Government had "lowered the just influence of the country in the capitals of Europe." The motion was lost by only 18 votes. That in the Lords was carried by a majority of 9.

16. Death of Palmerston: 1865.—When the general election took place in the following year, the Government found itself stronger than ever, the Liberal majority being increased to 77. That was due, however, mainly to the success of their financial policy, and the large amount of taxation remitted in Mr. Gladstone's budgets. In 1865, on the eve of the election, the income-tax was reduced from 6d. to 4d. per pound; and the duty on tea, which had been 1s, on the pound since 1862. was further reduced to 6d. Mr. Gladstone, however, had to pay for his popularity with the loss of his seat for the University of Oxford, for which his Liberalism had become too pronounced. His election for South-west Lancashire left him completely untrammelled. The death of Lord Palmerston, which occurred in October, left a serious blank in the political world, and deprived Great Britain of a statesman whose unerring tact, especially in affairs relating to foreign policy, had tided over many public difficulties and perils. Earl Russell 1 became Prime Minister in his stead, and Mr. Gladstone became leader of the House of Commons.

Abroad.—In 1864, an attack on Japan, by English, French, Dutch, and American forces, in consequence of the murder of an English subject there, led to the opening of Japan to Western commerce.

In 1864, the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, was made Emperor of Mexico by the French. England, France, and Spain had interfered in the internal affairs of Mexico in 1862. France alone prosecuted the quarrel vigorously, and set Maximilian on the throne. In 1867, he was vanquished and shot by Juarez, the native President.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lord John Russell was made a peer in 1861.

17. A New Reform Bill: 1866.—In the meantime, the Russell Ministry had taken up once more the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Ever since the withdrawal of the Bill of 1860, the question had been kept in the background, though year after year Messrs. Locke King and Baines had pressed on the attention of the House of Commons their proposal for the lowering of the franchise, both in boroughs and in counties. The new Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone in March. It proposed a county franchise of £14 rental, and a borough franchise of £7 rental, with a lodger franchise of £10 clear annual value. The second reading was carried by five votes only, owing to the secession of the "Adullamites" led by Mr. Lowe, Mr. Horsman, and Lord In committee, one of that party (Lord Dunkellin) Elcho. moved as an amendment to substitute "rating" for "rental." and that amendment was carried against the Government by a majority of eleven. The Government consequently resigned, and the Earl of Derby became Prime Minister for the third time, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons.

18. The Second Reform Act: 1867.—The change of Ministry was accompanied by popular demonstrations in favour of reform. The new Government was bound to deal with that question; nor did Mr. Disraeli shrink from the task, in spite of his failure in 1859. The new Bill was introduced in February. Its radical character alarmed many Conservatives, and General Peel, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Cranborne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury) resigned the offices of War, Colonial, and Indian Secretary respectively. On the same ground it disarmed the opposi-

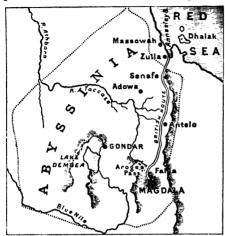
Abroad.—In 1866, Prussia claimed Schleswig and Holstein. This, with other causes of jealousy, led to the Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria, in which Prussia was joined by Italy. Austria was signally defeated in the Battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz). The results of the war were, that Austria was excluded from the Germanic Confederation, and that Venetia was transferred to Italy. (See Note, page 245.) A North German Confederation (including all the states north of the Main and Bohemia) was formed, with Prussia at its head; the states south of that line formed the South German Confederation.

tion of the Liberals, who contented themselves with making suggestions for its improvement, most of which were accepted. The Bill was read a third time without opposition in the Commons in July, and in August it passed the House of Lords and became law. In its final shape, the new Reform Act established household suffrage in boroughs, and thus the democracy gained a signal triumph. A lodger franchise of £10 was also granted. In counties the occupancy franchise was fixed at £12. boroughs returning three members, each voter was allowed only two votes—a device for giving power to minorities, which was inserted by the House of Lords. Corresponding Bills for Scotland and Ireland were passed in the following year. In Scotland the occupancy franchise was fixed at £14, and in Ireland the borough franchise was reduced from £8 to £4. The lodger franchise and the minority franchise were intended to be checks on the democratic tendency of these measures. In the redistribution of seats, England lost eight, of which Wales received one and Scotland seven. Of the latter, two were given to the universities. At the same time a member was given to the University of London.

- 19. The Dominion of Canada: 1867.—British North America was started on a new career of prosperity in 1867, by the confederation of the four leading colonies—Quebec (Lower Canada), Ontario (Upper Canada), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—and the formation of the Dominion of Canada, with Ottawa as capital. All the other colonies except Newfoundland have since entered the Dominion, while several new provinces have been carved out of the old Hudson Bay Territory. Since the Dominion was established, the resources and prosperity of the country have developed enormously.
- 20. The Abyssinian War: 1867-68.—Parliament was called together in November for the purpose of voting money for an expedition to Abyssinia. The war arose from the refusal of the

Abroad.—In 1867, Ismail (the grandson of Mehemet Ali), who had succeeded in 1863, was pronounced Khedive (Sovereign) of Egypt by the Sultan in 1867; and the title, with hereditary succession, was confirmed by firman in 1873.

Abyssinian king, named Theodore, to liberate some British subjects whom he had seized in reprisal for a visit which the



British Consul had paid. to provinces owning the sway of Egypt Having landed on the shore of the Red Sea, with a military force of nearly 12,000 men, and a train of 14,000 non-combatants. Robert Napier marched toward Magdala, the rock-fortress which represented the capital of Theodore's dominion. It was an

enterprise of great difficulty, owing to the nature of the country through which the expedition passed. The engineers were, in fact, obliged to make a path for the army through deep gorges, over gigantic rocks, and across the face of precipices. Having retired to the rock of Fahla, Theodore planted there a large cannon, on whose performances he rested all his hopes. With this piece of ordnance he commenced to fire on the British as they advanced up the Arogee Pass. They replied with the Snider rifle and their light field-pieces so effectively that the African force was completely scattered in a short time. In response to Napier's demand, all the European captives were sent into the British camp. Next day the rock of Magdala was stormed by five thousand men; and when the stockade guarding the northern gate was forced. Theodore in despair shot himself dead with a pistol (April 12, 1868). Napier was made Lord Napier of Magdala. The expedition cost the country £8,300,000.

## CHAPTER XXXI.—IRISH QUESTIONS.

- 1. Fenianism in Ireland: 1865.—The prevalence of discontent and disloyalty in Ireland was shown by the Fenian conspiracy, which assumed proportions so serious in the summer of 1865 that the Government found it necessary to interfere. It was promoted mainly by some reckless adventurers in the United States, who, finding their occupation gone by the cessation of the American Civil War, organized a plot by which the peace of Ireland was seriously disturbed. The Fenians derived their name from Finn or Finn, a chieftain who commanded a famous body of Irish soldiers in the reign of Cormac (in the third century). They aimed, not at the repeal of the Union, which would have satisfied O'Connell and O'Brien. but at the total subversion of the British government in Ireland, and the formation of that island into an independent republic. The seizure of the "Irish People," a seditious newspaper published in Dublin, and the arrest of James Stephens, the "head-centre" or chief organizer of the plot in Ireland, and of O'Donovan Rossa, one of its most reckless schemers, were the chief blows struck in 1865. Stephens escaped from Richmond Jail in Dublin; but several of his accomplices, convicted of treason-felony, were sentenced to penal servitude.
- 2. Habeas Corpus suspended: 1866.—So urgent did the danger arising from Fenianism grow in the following year, that on the 17th February 1866 Parliament passed a measure for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The Bill ran through all the necessary stages in both Houses in a single day; and more than one hundred arrests were made. More important even than the arrests was the effect of this decided step in driving out of Ireland most of the American adventurers already referred to. This, however, did not cure the evil. Arms continued to be secretly conveyed into Ireland; money was collected from sympathizers with the movement in America and at home; and the Irish peasantry engaged in midnight drill and lawless meetings, in spite of all that the

Roman Catholic clergy, who were resolutely opposed to the treason, could say or do.

- 3. Secret Outrages: 1867-68.—Baffled in two weak efforts at open war, which were easily crushed in the spring of 1866, the Fenians commenced a system of secret outrage, which displayed itself in three notorious instances. At Manchester, in September 1867, they attacked a prison-van and rescued two Fenian prisoners; and a police-sergeant was shot in the scuffle. For this crime three of them were executed in November. In December they blew up a part of the wall of Clerkenwell prison, in which two of their comrades were detained. The explosion shattered the adjacent houses and killed twelve and maimed many more of the inmates. Early in the following year (1868), a Fenian attempted to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh, while he was visiting a public garden at Sydney, in Australia. Reckless acts like these aroused strong feeling against the plot.
- 4. Irish Policy of the Liberals: 1868.—Lord Derby resigned in February 1868, on account of ill-health, and Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister, with Earl Cairns as Lord Chancellor and leader of the House of Lords. The Liberal party, led by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, now declared their belief that at the root of Irish discontent there were certain real grievances. The Irish people had two special grounds of complaint :-- 1. Their Established Church was the Protestant Church of England, while the majority of the people were Roman Catholics. 2. Their land laws were conceived and executed in a spirit favourable to the absentee landlords, and unjust to the Irish tenants. The Liberals began the assault on the Irish Church. Shortly after Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone proposed three resolutions in favour of the disestablishment of that Church. He was met by the Conservatives with a determined resistance; but in April he succeeded in carrying his first resolution by the decisive majority of 65. The resolution declared that it was necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, personal interests and rights of property

being conserved. Mr. Disraeli offered to resign, but it was arranged that an appeal should be made to the new constituencies under the recent Reform Act in the autumn.

- 5. First Gladstone Ministry: 1868.—The general election took place in November, and it gave the Liberals so decided a majority (393 to 265) that Mr. Disraeli resigned office at once, and made way for a Cabinet presided over by Mr. Gladstone (December 9). The new administration included for the first time members of the Advanced Liberal or Radical party, chief of whom was Mr. John Bright, who became President of the Board of Trade.
- 6. Disestablishment of the Irish Church: 1869.—The first duty incumbent on the new Ministry was to deal with the Irish Church on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. On the 1st of March, the Prime Minister introduced in the House of Commons his "Bill for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church." The opposition to it in the Lower House was unreal and despondent, because the passing of it was deemed a foregone conclusion; and in May the third reading was carried by a majority of 114. In the House of Lords the measure was violently opposed; but instead of throwing out the Bill, the majority introduced amendments vitally affecting its principle, and making more favourable terms for the Irish Church. On the motion of Mr. Gladstone, the House of Commons rejected these amendments. A deadlock seemed inevitable, when a compromise was arranged by Earl Cairns and Lord Granville. The Bill received the royal assent in July.
- 7. Provisions of the Act.—By this Act, which came into operation on January 1, 1871, the Protestant Church of Ireland ceased to be a State Establishment, and became a free Episcopal Church, and the Irish bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords. The clergy and officials of the Church were compensated for their life interests. The Crown grant (Regium Donum) to the Presbyterians, and the Maynooth grant to the Roman Catholics, were commuted. The capitalized revenues of the Church were estimated at sixteen millions sterling, of which the

new Church received about thirteen millions, the remainder being reserved as a national fund for the relief of unavoidable calamity in Ireland. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act was allowed to lapse at the close of the year (1869), and several Fenian prisoners were amnestied.

- 8. Opening of the Suez Canal: 1869.—The opening of the Suez Canal was an event of importance to this country from its effect on the commercial traffic with India. It was the work of M. de Lesseps, a French engineer, and was inaugurated in November 1869. In 1875, the British Government, in order to secure the control of the canal, purchased nearly one-half of its shares from the Khedive of Egypt for £4,080,000.
- 9. The Irish Land Act: 1870.—The Irish Land Act was the chief legislative work of the next session of Parliament. The Act, which received the royal assent in August, gave legal recognition to tenant right in Ulster, and to similar customs in other parts of Ireland. It conferred on all tenants new rights in the matter of compensation for disturbance by the landlord, except in cases of eviction for non-payment of rent; it awarded compensation for improvements carried out by the tenant; and it enabled Government to advance two-thirds of the purchase-

Abroad.—In 1870, Queen Isabella of Spain, dethroned in 1868, resigned her crown in favour of her son Alfonso, Prince of Asturias. But the Spanish people elected Amadeo (second son of Victor Emanuel of Italy), and he entered Madrid in January 1871. As he was unable to reconcile the factions by which the country was torn, he abdicated in 1873, and returned to Italy. A Republic was then proclaimed.

In 1870, France declared war against Prussia (July 15), being dissatisfied with the conduct of the latter in connection with the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the vacant Spanish crown. After the French had sustained several severe defeats, the Emperor Napoleon III. was forced to surrender at Sedan, September 1. The Empire was abolished, and a Republic was proclaimed at Paris. The Prussians invested Paris, September 19. Fighting went on in other parts of France. Paris surrendered (January 28, 1871); and the war was terminated by the Peace of Frankfort (May 10), by which most of Elsass (Alsace) and the German-speaking portion of Lothringen (Lorraine), including the great fortress of Metz, were transferred to Prussia. Prussia also occupied the north and east of France till a very large war indemnity was paid. Napoleon died in England in 1873.

money of their holdings to tenants desirous of buying from landlords willing to sell. Along with this ameliorative measure, Parliament at the same time passed a *Peace Preservation Act*, intended to suppress disorder in Ireland. The Act increased the powers of the police, intrusted magistrates with summary jurisdiction, prohibited the use of firearms in proclaimed districts, and gave the Government power, under certain conditions, to suppress newspapers.

- 10. The English Education Act: 1870.—The parliamentary session of 1870 produced also the English Education Act. which was rendered necessary by the deficiency of the existing school supply, and also by the extension of the franchise. W. E. Forster introduced the Bill, and steered it successfully through the Commons. It excited a vigorous contest between the different ecclesiastical bodies, and in the end was carried through by concession and compromise. It ordered the establishment in London of a School Board with rating powers, and it authorized the formation of similar boards wherever they were necessary in boroughs and rural parishes. Vote by ballot was publicly used for the first time in England in the schoolboard elections. The Act has been amended by subsequent Acts, especially by that of 1876, which introduced compulsory attendance and instituted school attendance committees wherever there were no school boards.
- 11. The Scottish Education Act: 1872.—The Act of 1870, which applied only to England and Wales, was followed in 1872 by a Scottish Education Act of a more complete and thoroughgoing character. It established a school board in every parish and in every borough in Scotland, with power to levy rates, build schools, and enforce attendance. The country was very soon covered with a magnificent supply of public school-buildings. By authorizing the teaching of religion according to "the use and wont" of Scotland, the Act practically made the public schools Presbyterian; and the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics were allowed to maintain their denominational schools, with the aid of Government grants.
  - 12. **The Ballot Act: 1872.**—The democracy had obtained (998)

the franchise, in the boroughs at least, but working-men did not think themselves safe in the exercise of their rights without the protection of the ballot. Nearly forty years had passed since the adoption of the ballot had first been proposed in Parliament by Grote the historian. For many years the proposal was rejected by large majorities. The great extension of the franchise now made it indispensable, and its utility and convenience had been proved by the school-board elections. A Ballot Act was therefore one of the achievements of the session of 1872. The House of Lords, having rejected a similar measure in the previous year, accepted the Bill with evident dislike, and inserted a clause limiting its operation to eight years. When the time came for renewing the Act, it was made permanent as a matter of course. The Ballot Act abelished the ancient custom of the public nomination of candidates on the hustings.

13. Irish University Bill: 1873.—A ministerial crisis was brought on in 1873 in connection with an Irish University Bill introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, and supported with his accustomed eloquence. The Bill proposed the erection and endowment of a non-denominational university

In 1871, the Mont Cenis Tunnel, on the Chambery and Turin Railway, connecting France with Italy, was formally opened for traffic. It occupied fourteen years in making.

Abroad.—In 1871, William I. of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the States of the Southern Confederation joined Prussia. The triumph of Prussia over France increased its influence very greatly; and advantage was taken of this to complete the unification of Germany. The Confederations of 1866 were abolished, and all the German States except Austria were combined in a new German Empire, under the hereditary supremacy of Prussia.

In 1871, a Communist insurrection broke out in Paris (March 18), which was besieged by the forces of the National Assembly meeting at Versailles. After a siege of two months, during which the Paris mob perpetrated barbarous cruelties and wanton destruction of property, the insurgents surrendered, May 29. M. Thiers was elected President of the new French Republic, August 31. He resigned in 1873, and was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, who was appointed President for seven years. Meantime the question of adopting a permanent Constitution was postponed.

in Dublin, to which the existing colleges, including Trinity College, would be affiliated. The teaching of mental and moral philosophy, of theology, and of modern history, was to be excluded. On the second reading the Bill was thrown out by a combination of Roman Catholics and discontented Liberals with the Conservative Opposition, and Mr. Gladstone resigned. As the Conservatives were not prepared to carry on the government with a majority of the House of Commons against them, and as a dissolution was impossible at the moment, Mr. Disraeli declined to take office, and Mr. Gladstone returned to power. Before the crisis came on, the Supreme Court of Judicature Act was passed, consolidating the existing courts in two great branches—the High Court of Justice, and the Court of Appeal.

- 14. The Ashantee War: 1873-74,—The Ashantee War one of those little wars from which the widespread empire of Great Britain is seldom free-occupied the remainder of the year. In exchange for a concession to Holland on the Strait of Malacca, the Dutch granted to Great Britain certain forts on the African Gold Coast. The warlike Ashantees, occupying the interior north of the Gold Coast, objected to the change, because the British required them to pay customs duties on imports, which the Dutch had not done. The British also protected the Fantees, a neighbouring tribe whom the Ashantees Suddenly a host of these barbarians swooped down on the coast and threatened the British settlements. force having been sent out under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, it marched to Coomassie, the Ashantee capital, and after defeating the natives in two battles, burned the town and the royal palace. The King could not be induced to sign a treaty until a second British division under Captain Glover arrived and terrified him into submission (February 1874).
- 15. Second Disraeli Ministry: 1874.—Before the war was over, the Gladstone Ministry had fallen. Its prestige had been damaged by its defeat on the Irish University Bill. Though it had passed several great measures—the Irish Church Act, the Irish Land Act, the Education Acts, the Ballot Act, the

Judicature Act—it had latterly been growing more and more unpopular in the country. Nevertheless Liberals as well as Conservatives were surprised when, in January 1874, Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament. Although he put in the forefront of his manifesto a promise to abolish the incometax, the country declared against him. In the new Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of 50 over Liberals and Irish Home Rulers combined. Mr. Gladstone resigned at once, without waiting for a formal dismissal by the House of Commons, and Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister for the second time. Some months later, Mr. Gladstone retired (only temporarily, as it proved) from the leadership of the Liberal party, and the Marquis of Hartington was chosen in his place.

## CHAPTER XXXII.—THE BEACONSFIELD MINISTRY.

1. The Home Rule League: 1873.—Mr. Gladstone's Irish measures produced quietness, but not contentment. The Irish Church Act did not excite the enthusiasm of the people. The Irish Land Act did not go nearly far enough to meet their wishes. It was seen, however, that the Fenians had gone too far in demanding entire separation and an independent government. A more moderate demand was made toward the end of 1870—a demand for legislative independence under a federal system, without separation. To carry out the scheme, the Home Government Association—known after 1873 as the Home Rule League—was formed, with Mr. Isaac Butt as its Parliamentary exponent. In its constitution it repudiated the idea of "separation," or of interfering with the prerogatives of the Crown.

Abroad.—In 1873, Russia sent an expedition to invade Khiva, in Turkestan. The Khan or Governor surrendered. Many Russian captives were released, and a large portion of territory was annexed to Russia.

In 1874, Prince Alfonso, son of the ex-Queen Isabella, was proclaimed King of Spain, as Alfonso XII. The Carlist War continued till the beginning of 1876, when Don Carlos (the Second) fled first to France, then to England.

- 2. Higher Education in Ireland: 1878-79.—The rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill (1873) was chiefly important on account of the ministerial crisis which it brought It was significant, however, of the Prime Minister's desire to induce the Liberal party to treat the Irish disorder with remedial measures. As the Church Act had redressed a religious grievance, and as the Land Act had attempted to redress an agrarian grievance, so the University Bill was an effort to remove a disability which was partly religious and partly educational. Mr. Gladstone did not again touch the question of Irish education. In 1878 the Beaconsfield Government passed an Act devoting one million sterling of the Irish Church surplus to the encouragement of intermediate education. following year the same Ministry passed an Act constituting the Royal University of Ireland, in which the Queen's University (founded in 1850) was absorbed. The degrees, exhibitions, and scholarships of the new university—which is simply an examining body—were opened to women as well as to men.
- 3. Home Rule in Parliament: 1874.—Home Rule made its first appearance in Parliament in 1874, when a motion on the subject was made by Mr. Isaac Butt, the member for Limerick. The pleas for it were that Ireland was entitled to manage its own affairs, and that the Imperial Parliament was overburdened with work and required relief. Mr. Disraeli heaped unmeasured ridicule on the proposal, which was rejected by four hundred and fifty-eight votes to sixty-one. In the following year, the Government showed its determination to put down disorder with a strong hand by renewing the Peace Preservation Act, and also the Act for the Protection of Life and Property in West Meath, passed by the Gladstone Government in 1870. These Acts were persistently opposed by the Home Rule members, but were passed by large majorities, including both Conservatives and Liberals.
- 4. Domestic Legislation: 1875-76.—The second Disraeli, or the Beaconsfield Ministry, held office for six years and two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Disraeli was raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876.

months. As the Conservatives had accused the Liberals of adopting harassing and heroic legislation, the new ministers felt bound, on succeeding to office, to devote their energies to the production of soothing domestic measures. important Acts which they passed were that Abolishing Lay Patronage in the Church of Scotland, and transferring the election of ministers to the communicants and adherents in each congregation; the Public Worship Regulation Act, designed to check the increase of ritualism in the Church of England; the Employers and Workmen Act, placing the contract between them on a purely civil basis, but making criminal any breach of contract that endangers the public safety; an Agricultural Holdings Act, allowing compensation to tenants for unexhausted improvements; a Regimental Exchanges Act, regarded in some quarters as a partial return to the system of purchase: and the Additional Titles Act. which enabled the Queen to add to her existing titles that of "Empress of India." Her Majesty's new title was proclaimed in London on April 28, 1876, and at Calcutta with great solemnities on January 1, 1877.

5. The Russo-Turkish War: 1877.—The events with which the Ministry is chiefly identified, and which indeed led to its overthrow, occurred in the field of foreign politics. Eastern Question—the question which gave rise to the Egyptian War of 1840 (see page 212), and to the Crimean War in 1854 (see page 229)—was reopened by a new war between Russia and Turkey in 1877. Russia made herself the champion of the "oppressed nationalities"—the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Montenegrins-who had been groaning for years under the tyranny of the Sublime Porte, not without the occasional stimulus supplied by Russian emissaries. The Servians had failed in an effort to throw off the Turkish voke in 1876, and had made peace with Turkey; but after Russia declared war (April 1877), she was joined both by Roumania and by Servia, and the disturbances in Montenegro and Herzegovina were renewed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Roumania. This name was assumed by the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1861.

- 6. Attitude of Great Britain.—The British Government took no part in the war, but watched its course very narrowly. Great Britain could not allow Russia to seize Constantinople. On the other hand, the atrocities perpetrated by Turkish agents in Bulgaria had aroused too much indignation in this country to make an open alliance with Turkev possible. istry resolved that the proper time for them to intervene would be when the terms of peace came to be settled. The Russians were successful in the war. The Turks in their disorganized state, and unaided by European allies, were no match for the Muscovite hordes. Osman Pasha made a brave and stubborn stand in an intrenched camp at Plevna in Bulgaria for five months (July to December). When Plevna fell, the Russians poured masses of troops over the Balkans and threatened Constantinople. Then Turkey yielded, and signed with Russia the Treaty of San Stefano (February 24, 1878).
- 7. The Treaty of Berlin: 1878.—That treaty had not the sanction of the European Powers, and was regarded as pro-At the suggestion of the British Government, a Congress of the Powers was summoned at Berlin to arrange the terms of a permanent treaty, and met there in July, Lord Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury, the Foreign Minister, attending as the British plenipotentiaries. In the meantime it became known that a Convention or defensive alliance between Great Britain and Turkey had been signed at Constantinople in June. Under this "secret treaty," as it was called, Great Britain agreed to protect Turkey from aggression in Asia; while Turkey promised internal reforms, and gave up the island of Cyprus to be administered by Great Britain. the Treaty of Berlin, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made independent states. Bulgaria was made a free tributary state; and Eastern Roumelia received a share of self-government and a Christian prince. Greece was promised an extension of territory; while Russia recovered the part of Bessarabia lost in 1856 (see page 237), and received Batûm, Ardahan, and Kars in Armenia.
  - 8. Obstruction in Parliament: 1877.—The session of 1877

is memorable for an extraordinary development of obstruction in the House of Commons by the Irish members. Mr. Shaw's motion for a select committee to inquire into the nature, extent, and grounds of the demand for an Irish Parliament was rejected by four hundred and seventeen votes to sixty-seven. The minority, feeling themselves powerless to obtain what they demanded, resolved to punish the majority by preventing the ordinary business of the House from being advanced. During the previous three years—ever since the general election of 1874, when fifty-eight Home Rulers were returned—these tactics had been indulged in occasionally and fitfully. In 1877 obstruction was practised systematically. It was reduced to a science, its instruments being in themselves legitimate. Not only were long and irrelevant speeches made for the purpose of consuming time, but the forms of the House, which were designed to facilitate business, were ingeniously used to retard it. that end, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Donnell, and Mr. Charles Stuart Parnell made themselves masters of the forms of the House. and learned how they could be used or abused with impunity.

9. Retirement of Mr. Butt: 1878.—Mr. Butt. the ostensible leader of the Home Rule party, did not countenance these tactics, and in fact confessed his inability to keep his followers in hand. A crisis came on the 2nd of July, when the House was in Committee of Supply. A small vote for the Army Reserve force was met by a motion to report progress. Though the motion was rejected by one hundred and twenty-eight votes to eight, it was repeated in that and in other forms till seventeen divisions were taken, and the sitting was prolonged till seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, when the House was counted out. As these tactics were repeated, the Government proposed and carried new rules of procedure, limiting the powers of members in speaking, and in repeating motions in Committee. Nevertheless, on July 31, when the South African Bill was discussed, the House was kept sitting continuously for twenty-six hours. Obstruction was continued in the session of 1878: but the action of Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Donnell was repudiated even by some of the Irish members, and Mr.

Butt withdrew in disgust from the leadership of the party. He died in 1879.

- 10. Afghan War: 1879-80.—The conduct of the Beaconsfield Ministry in connection with the Eastern Question, and especially with the "secret treaty," undoubtedly damaged its reputation in the country. Lord Carnarvon and Lord Derby withdrew from it early in 1878, because they believed that it was drifting into war. Its position was further weakened by a new Afghan War, begun in the end of 1878. The objects of the war were to force the Ameer Shere Ali to receive a British Resident at Cabul, so as to counteract Russian influence there. and to obtain a better frontier for the defence of India. these objects had been secured by the Peace of Gandamak. concluded with Yakub Khan, the son of Shere Ali who had fled and died, Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Envoy, was murdered at Cabul, and the war was renewed. brilliant exploit was General Roberts's march from Cabul to Candahar, to relieve a small British force beleaguered in the latter stronghold. He accomplished the march of three hundred and twenty miles across a barren country with eighteen thousand men in twenty-three days with only two halts; and at the end of the march he attacked and defeated the enemy. The British then withdrew, having recognized as Ameer Abdurrahman Khan, a nominee of Russia. (See Map, page 214.)
- 11. Zulu War: 1879.—At the same time the country was burdened with another petty war in Zululand, brought about by the refusal of Cetewayo, the Zulu King, to disarm and disband his army. The British, under Lord Chelmsford, suffered a great disaster at Isandlhana, redeemed somewhat by the magnificent defence of Rorke's Drift by a handful of British soldiers under Chard and Bromhead. That check prevented the Zulus from pouring into Natal, and saved the

Abroad.—In 1879, Marshal MacMahon resigned the Presidency of the French Republic, and was succeeded by M. Grévy.

In 1880, in France the Government of M. de Freycinet resolved to execute the decrees against the Jesuits and other unauthorized religious orders (March).

colony. In the end Cetewayo was subdued and captured (1879). The Queen's sovereignty over Zululand was proclaimed at Ekowe in 1887. In this war Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the late Emperor Napoleon the Third of France, was killed in a reconnaissance.

- 12. The Irish Land League: 1878-79.—During the winter and spring there was much distress in the west and the south of Ireland; and, as usual, distress led to discontent, and discontent to outrage. A wet season in 1878 led to a failure of the potato crop, and also of the peat harvest. seemed imminent. Political agitators took advantage of the distress to incite the people against the Government. Home Rulers, now led by Mr. Parnell, put themselves at the head of the discontent, and demanded a complete change in the land laws. They formed a Land League, which advised the farmers not to pay rents. The advice was readily acted on, and more serious consequences followed. Landlords and their agents were shot; the cattle and goods of those who obeyed the law were destroyed. There came into vogue the system of social persecution which had been described by Cobden and others as "exclusive dealing," and which was now called "boycotting"-from a Captain Boycott, who was its first victim. Several of the Irish leaders, including Michael Davitt, were arrested, but were released on bail. The law was openly defied, and the country seemed on the brink of civil war.
- 13. Amendment of Procedure: 1880.—The Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament in February 1880 expressed deep sympathy with the condition of the population in certain parts of Ireland, and announced that a grant would be made from the Irish Church surplus with the view of alleviating the distress. The House of Commons then set itself to revise its rules of procedure, so as to resist obstruction. Power was given to the Speaker and to the Chairman of Committees to name an obstructive member, whereupon the House could suspend him for the remainder of the sitting, or for a longer period. A Relief of Distress Act for Ireland, in fulfilment of the promise of the Queen's speech, had scarcely been passed when Lord

Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country (March).

14. Beaconsfield's Fall: 1880.—The country had obviously grown tired of Lord Beaconsfield's spirited and imperial policy. It had little sympathy with his desire that Great Britain should become again a Continental power. When he returned in triumph from Berlin, bringing, as he said, "peace with honour," his fame had reached its zenith. Thereafter it declined. Ministry, like most ministries that have held office for several years, had failed to realize all the hopes it had raised, and had disappointed many of that considerable class that is swayed from side to side by personal interest. In the general election the experience of 1874 was almost exactly reversed. Liberals had a majority of forty-six over Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. Mr. Gladstone was recalled to power, and formed a Ministry which included a still larger representation of the Radical party than his previous administrationnotably Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Fawcett, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Trevelyan. Beaconsfield did not long survive his retirement from office. He died in April 1881.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE SECOND GLADSTONE MINISTRY.

1. Disorder in Ireland: 1880.—The serious view taken of the state of Ireland by Mr. Gladstone was shown by his appointment of so prominent a politician as Mr. W. E. Forster to the Irish Secretaryship, alongside of Earl Cowper as Lord-Lieutenant. The new Government allowed the Peace Preservation Act to lapse. They also passed a second Relief of Distress Act, though the Lords threw out the Compensation for Disturbance clause which the Commons had inserted. The conciliatory measures of the Government were, however, of little avail in presence of the growing distress and disorder. The withholding of rents at the instigation of the Land League was met by

evictions on the side of the landlords. Great excitement followed, and agrarian outrages became fearfully common in the autumn. Mr. Parnell and other members of the Land League were prosecuted for inciting to breaches of the law; but the jury disagreed, and were dismissed.

- 2. Obstruction in Parliament: 1881.—Early in the following session, a Protection of Life and Property Act and a new Peace Preservation Act were passed, in the face of determined obstruction in the House of Commons. The sitting at which the first reading of the former Bill was carried extended to forty-one hours. On the following day thirty-six Irish'members were suspended and removed from the House, for defying the authority of the Speaker. A new rule was adopted giving the Speaker power to restrict discussion when "urgency" had been voted. A new Land Act was also passed granting to tenants still more liberal terms than the Act of 1870. These included "the three F's"—Fair Rents, to be fixed by a land court, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale of their holdings by tenants. Among those imprisoned as "suspects," under the Protection of Life and Property Act, were Mr. Parnell and two other Irish members of Parliament. The Land League then issued a "No Rent Manifesto," ordering tenants to withhold their rents, but to hold their farms. Thereupon the Government proclaimed the Land League as "an illegal and criminal association." Byand-by the National League arose in its place.
- 3. Revolt in the Transvaal: 1881.—Mr. Gladstone returned to office with a strong desire to escape from the entanglements of foreign wars. In this he was not successful. Before the end of the year there was a revolt of the Boers in the Transvaal. They proved themselves splendid riflemen at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill (February); but they submitted, after being promised self-government under British suzerainty.
- 4. War in Egypt: 1882.—The settlement of the affairs of Egypt proved a more difficult task. The security of the Suez Canal, the highway between England and India, depends on the presence of a stable and friendly government in Egypt. A military revolt in 1882, headed by Arabi Pasha, overthrew the

Government of the Khedive. The cry of British interests in danger was at once raised. It was felt, or feared, that if Great Britain did not interfere to restore order, France would do so. Armed intervention was therefore resolved on. The British fleet, under Admiral Seymour, bombarded the forts of Alexandria on July 11th. Thereafter the rebels set fire to the town and massacred many foreigners. In September Sir Garnet Wolseley drove Arabi out of his intrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir. A rapid march on Cairo followed, and the war was finished. The Khedive was restored. Arabi surrendered, and was banished to Ceylon. The greater part of the British army at once withdrew. Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Beauchamp Seymour were rewarded with peerages.

5. The Phœnix Park Murders: 1882.—In the beginning of May 1882, the number of "suspects" in prison in Ireland under the Coercion Acts was upwards of 900. Mr. Gladstone seems to have thought that force had been carried far enough, and that a conciliatory policy would be more effective. He is even said to have come to an understanding with Mr. Parnell, then in Kilmainham Jail. However that may be, the three imprisoned members of Parliament were released in May. Mr. W. E. Forster did not approve of this leniency, and resigned the office of Chief Secretary. At the same time Earl Spencer took the place of Earl Cowper as Lord-Lieutenant. A few days later, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary, and

Abroad.—In 1881, Alexander II., Czar of Russia, was assassinated in St. Petersburg. Four attempts on his life had previously been made. These were the result of the plots of a discontented section of his subjects, called Nihilists.

In 1881, General Garfield, President of the United States, was shot and mortally wounded at Washington. He died eleven weeks later.

In 1881, a French expedition to Tunis resulted in the submission of the Bey. It was unpopular in France; but the treaty was ratified by the Chamber.

In 1881, the St. Gothard tunnel through the Alps (begun in 1870) was completed and a train passed through it. It was not opened for traffic till 1882.

In 1882, Servia was declared a kingdom, and Prince Milan was proclaimed King.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Frederick Cavendish was a younger brother of the Marquis of Hartington.

- Mr. Burke, the Chief Under-Secretary, were brutally murdered in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, in open day (May 6). The history of the crime was not discovered till the following year, when a secret society called "the Irish Invincibles" was discovered in Dublin, and its members were arrested (1883). Several of the prisoners turned informers, and five of the murderers were condemned to death and were executed.
- 6. Repressive Legislation: 1882.—Immediately after the murder of Cavendish and Burke, the Government introduced into the House of Commons a stringent *Prevention of Crimes Bill*, and an *Arrears Bill*, proposing that the arrears of rent due for the past three years should be paid partly from the Irish Church surplus, and partly from the Consolidated Fund. Both Bills were passed, though the latter was keenly opposed in the House of Lords. The Crimes Act was vigorously administered by Earl Spencer, and by Mr. Trevelyan, who had taken the post of Chief Secretary. During the next two years the number of agrarian outrages steadily declined.
- 7. War in the Soudan: 1883-84.—A revolt of the native tribes in the Soudan reopened the Egyptian question. The revolt was headed by Achmet Mahomet, a fanatical chief who called himself "the Mahdi" or reformer of Mohammedanism; and its avowed object was to drive the Egyptian rulers and garrisons out of the Soudan. In November, an Egyptian force was sent to Kordofan, under Colonel Hicks, a British officer; but it was surrounded and annihilated. The Mahdi was elated with this victory, and declared himself to be invulnerable, and his mission to be a divine one. Osman Digna, one of his lieutenants, occupied the Nubian Desert north of Abyssinia, and threatened the coast of the Red Sea. Early in 1884, a British force, under General Sir Gerard Graham, was despatched to Suakim, and succeeded in relieving the Egyptian garrisons at Tokar and other places.
- 8. General Gordon's Mission: 1884.—In order to prevent bloodshed, the British Government was induced to send General Gordon ("Chinese Gordon") to Khartoum, to negotiate for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons there and at Berber and

Dongola. Gordon went with a small escort and without troops, as he declared his mission to be a peaceful one (January 1884). But his mission failed, and he had to defend himself in Khartoum against the followers of the Mahdi, who besieged the town. The cry was then raised at home that Gordon was being sacrificed, and the excitement became intense when weeks and months passed without any communications having been received from Khartoum.

- 9. The Relief Expedition: 1884-85.—Yielding at last to the public clamour, the Government, in August, despatched a force of 10.000 men under Lord Wolseley, to relieve General Gordon. The Nile route was selected for the advance. When the army reached Korti, one division was sent across the Bayuda Desert, with instructions to push on to Khartoum. The desert march was a splendid feat, ending in a brilliant victory at Abu-Klea (January 14, 1885), and another, two days later, near Metammeh, where General Stewart was mortally wounded. From Metammeh, General Wilson steamed up the river to Khartoum, only to find that the place had fallen, and that Gordon had been killed two days previously (January 26). The news of Gordon's death caused extraordinary excitement at home; but it soon died down, and then the expedition was gradually withdrawn. Lord Wolseley returned to England in July.
- 10. Dynamite Outrages: 1884-85.—In carrying on their agitation for Home Rule, the Irish malcontents received substantial aid from their brethren in the United States. The American Irish subscribed thousands of pounds to the funds of the Land League and of the National League, and to the Parliamentary Fund for the maintenance of Irish members in London. Help of a more questionable kind came from a band

Abroad.—In 1883, the French seized Tamatave in Madagascar. Their interference at Tonquin led to a rupture with China.

In 1883, Henry, Comte de Chambord, the last representative of the House of Bourbon, died in Austria. He was styled Henry V. of France by the Legitimists.

In 1884, the British Association met at Montreal, Canada.

In 1884, at Calcutta, the Legislative Council passed the Ilbert Bill, allowing natives to act as judges.

of desperate men, headed by O'Donovan Rossa, who sought to strike terror into the heart of London by a series of well-planned dynamite outrages. In May 1884, a terrific explosion took place in Scotland Yard, the head-quarters of the London police, which wrecked several buildings and did much damage. Still more daring were the outrages of January 24, 1885, which were perpetrated almost simultaneously within the precincts of the House of Commons, in Westminster Hall, and in the Tower of London. For complicity in these wicked and dastardly exploits two men were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

11. Scottish Home Rule: 1885.—The demand for land-law reform spread from Ireland to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, where the crofters, or small farmers, suffered from causes similar to those which afflicted the Irish peasantry. There, as in Ireland, rents were withheld, and sheriff-officers sent to serve notices on the defaulting tenants were deforced with violence.

At the same time, an agitation for Home Rule in Scotland took a more reasonable form than the similar movement in Ireland. For years great dissatisfaction had been expressed with the manner in which Scottish business was conducted by the administrative departments in London. This led to a demand for the transference of all Scottish business to a separate department, with a Secretary of State at its head. The Gladstone Government recognized the fairness of the demand, and introduced a Bill to give it effect. The Bill passed through its final stages under the Salisbury Ministry in August 1885, and the Duke of Richmond and Gordon became the first Secretary for Scotland, with a seat in the Cabinet.

12. The County Franchise Act: 1884.—One of the last acts of the Gladstone Ministry was to complete the fabric of the British democracy by the extension of the household and lodger franchise to counties. The rejection of the measure by the House of Lords in July 1884 led to the holding of an autumn session for the purpose of passing the Bill. During the recess, there were defiant demonstrations against that House over the

whole country. Its very existence was threatened. When the Bill was reintroduced, attempts were made to lessen its democratic tendencies by compromises and amendments; but these failed, with the single exception that the Government agreed to make known the terms of its Distribution of Seats Bill before the Franchise Bill was finally passed. The latter Bill became law on December 6th. It added two million voters to the electorate, and it contained a novelty in the shape of the service franchise, giving votes to servants who enjoyed the occupancy of a dwelling-house as part of their wages. The Distribution of Seats Bill, though introduced in the House of Commons in December 1884, was by consent postponed till next session, and did not pass till June. Boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants were disfranchised as such, and were absorbed in their respective counties. Boroughs with less than 50,000 inhabitants were allowed only one member. Those with more than 50,000 received two or more members in proportion to their population. Single-member constituencies were made the rule, large cities and counties being broken up into divisions with one member each. In England, 43 new boroughs were created. England received 2 additional members and Scotland 12, while Ireland lost 2. The total number of members in the House of Commons was increased from 658 to 670.

13. First Salisbury Ministry: 1885.—While the Redistribution Bill was passing through its final stages in the House of Lords, a ministerial crisis was precipitated in the Commons by the Budget proposals of the Government. The features which were condemned by the Opposition were the increase of

Abroad.—In 1885, the Congo Free State in Central Africa was recognized by the European Powers at Berlin.

In 1885, the French troops suffered reverses in Tonquin. The result was a ministerial crisis in France. M. Ferry resigned, and was succeeded by M. Brisson. Peace was concluded with China in June.

In 1885, a ten days' war broke out between Servia and Bulgaria. The Servians, who were the aggressors, were obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was signed in March 1886.

In 1886, Eastern Roumelia was united with Bulgaria by firman of the Sultan.

the beer and spirit duties, and the failure to give relief to local taxation. An adverse motion in these terms was carried by a majority of twelve (June 8), and Mr. Gladstone resigned. Marquis of Salisbury became Prime Minister, though, having a majority of the Commons against him, he knew that he would have great difficulty in carrying on the government during the short period that must elapse before the general election under the new franchise. In the meantime the Ashbourne Act was passed, to advance money to Irish tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings. The Crimes Act was not renewed, and outrages again became common. As the general election approached, it was evident that it would turn mainly on the Mr. Gladstone asked the country to give him Irish question. such a Liberal majority as would counterbalance any possible combination of Conservatives and Parnellites, as the defeat of his Ministry in June had been due to such an alliance. The result did not realize his hopes. When the election came in November, it gave the Liberals a majority of eighty-four over the Conservatives; but as the Irish Nationalists numbered eighty-six, they evidently held the balance between the two great parties in British politics.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.—IRISH HOME RULE.

1. Third Gladstone Ministry: 1886.—When the new Parliament met in January, the Salisbury Ministry was defeated on an amendment to the Address, complaining that no proposal was made for enabling agricultural labourers to obtain allotments and small holdings on equitable terms. While Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain supported the amendment, Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen voted with the Government—the first indication of the rupture of the Liberal party which subsequently took place. The Irish Nationalists did not take part in the division. Lord Salisbury resigned, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time. The new Cabinet did not include Lord Hartington or Mr. Goschen.

- Mr. John Morley was the Chief Secretary for Ireland. It was obvious from the first that Mr. Gladstone could not carry on the Government without the support of the Irish Nationalists. Moreover, the large majority of Nationalists returned from Ireland forced on him the conviction that the demand for Home Rule could no longer be resisted. He therefore made the Government of Ireland Bill his first important measure.
- 2. The Home Rule Bill: 1886.—Mr. Gladstone explained the proposals of his Government of Ireland Bill in the House of Commons on April 8. They included the establishment in Dublin of a "legislative body" with executive powers, and comprising two orders; the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament; all taxation in Ireland, except excise and customs duties, to be in the hands of the legislative body; the appointment of the judges to lie with the same body; the question of the ordinary police to be left open; securities to be taken for the unity of the empire, and for the protection of the minority and of Protestants. The scheme produced intense excitement. It was hailed with joy by Mr. Parnell and the Irish members. It was denounced by the Conservatives and by a section of the Liberals, including Mr. Chamberlain, who left the Cabinet, and also by Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen.
- 3. Rupture of the Liberal Party: 1886.—A week later, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Purchase Bill, which proposed the issue of fifty million of new three-per-cent. stock, for the purpose of buying up the estates of landlords who were willing to sell their lands at a cost of from twenty to twenty-five years' purchase, the Irish taxes being held as security for the purchase-money. The opposition to this Bill was quite as violent as that to the other. Meetings for and meetings against the two Bills were held in all parts of the country. Many influential Liberals broke off from Mr. Gladstone, and formed the "Liberal Unionist" party. It included Lord Hartington, the Duke of Argyle, Earl Cowper, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bright, Sir Henry James, and Mr. Chamberlain.

- 4. Rejection of the Home Rule Bill.—The rejection of the Government of Ireland Bill was moved by Lord Hartington on May 10th. The division was taken on June 6th, when 313 (including 83 Irish Nationalists) voted with the Government, and 343 (including 93 Liberal Unionists) voted against it: majority against the Government, 30. The Bill was therefore thrown out. The Cabinet resolved on an immediate dissolution of Parliament, and an appeal to the country on the sole and direct issue of self-government or repressive laws as the remedy Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, for the ills of Ireland. declared the issue to be separation or union; but Mr. Gladstone and his followers repudiated the name of "Separatists" applied to them by their opponents, and denied the right of the latter to appropriate the title of "Unionists." The general election took place in July. It resulted in the return (excluding the Speaker) of 317 Conservatives and 75 Liberal Unionists (together 392), and of 192 Liberals and 85 Nationalists (together 277): majority against the Government, 115. The Gladstone Ministry at once resigned.
- 5. Second Salisbury Ministry: 1886.—The Marquis of Salisbury once more undertook the task of forming an administration. Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Northcote being made Foreign Secretary with a peerage (Earl of Iddesleigh). Lord Hartington, who had been offered but had declined the premiership of a Coalition Government, promised Lord Salisbury the independent support of the Liberal Unionist party. The Ministry continued purely Conservative till the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill in January 1887, when he was succeeded by Mr. Goschen as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. W. H. Smith then became First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons.

Abroad.—In 1886, the Orleans and Bonaparte princes were expelled from France by vote of the Senate. (The vote was rescinded as regards the Duc d'Aumale in March 1889.)

In 1886, Prince Alexander of Bulgaria resigned his throne, and was succeeded by Duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg (July 1887).

- 6. Irish Policy.—It was announced in the House of Commons. in August 1886, that the Irish policy of the Government would include three points—the preservation of social order; the settlement of the land question; and the extension of local government-which points would be dealt with in that order. Legislative work relating to Ireland was postponed till next session: but General Redvers Buller was at once sent to Kerry, with powers that would enable him "to bring the reign of terror to an end." A Royal Commission was at the same time appointed, to ascertain how far non-payment of rent was due to financial inability, and how far to other causes. The Nationalists on their part adopted a scheme, called "the Plan of Campaign," for depositing with trustees rents refused by the landlords as being too small; and the money was to be used in supporting evicted tenants.
- 7. The Scottish Crofters' Act: 1886.—In the meantime the Government ventured to deal with the Scottish land question. They succeeded in passing the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, giving crofters more secure tenure and compensation for improvements, and appointing commissioners to revise rents and to make reductions from arrears (June). The commissioners made very large reductions on rents and on arrears in the Highlands and Islands. Before they had reached the Hebrides in their inquiry, the crofters in Tiree and Skye refused to pay the arrears of their rents; and when writs were attempted to be served, the officers were deforced. Bodies of marines were sent to the islands to restore order, and several of the offenders were tried and imprisoned.
- 8. Annexation of Upper Burma: 1886.—About this time the Indian Empire was greatly extended and enriched by the annexation of Upper Burma—a fertile region of Further India, teeming also with mineral wealth. In November 1885, the arrogance and extortion of King Thee-Baw forced the British to present an ultimatum. An insolent reply from the King was followed by the march of 15,000 British troops, under General Prendergast, to Mandalay, the capital. The Burmese made a feeble resistance, and King Thee-Baw was captured and

sent into exile. On January 1, 1886, Burma was annexed to the Indian Empire by proclamation. A desultory war followed, to put down the Dacoits or native brigands. Before the end of 1887, comparative order had been restored; but it was still necessary to keep a large British force in the country.

- 9. Further Amendment of Procedure: 1887.—The Parliamentary session of 1887 was given up almost wholly to Irish business. Two of the three points in the Government policy were treated with great elaboration—namely, social order and the land question. The third point—local government—was postponed until it had been dealt with in England and in Scotland. As a preliminary to its legislative work, the House of Commons further amended its rules of procedure. The most important of these amendments put it in the power of any member to move the closure ("That the question be now put") without the initiative of the Speaker.<sup>1</sup>
- 10. The Crimes Act: 1887.—The first Government measure of importance was the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, which became law in July. All previous repressive Acts had been passed for a limited period. This Act was made permanent. It increased greatly the power of the Irish executive, enabling it to stop the holding of public meetings, to "proclaim" disturbed districts, to suppress dangerous associations, to change the place of the trial of prisoners, and to obtain convictions without a jury in certain cases. The measure was violently opposed and "obstructed" during its passage through the House of Commons, and the "closure" was frequently applied. The Land Act was designed to restrain evictions, and to reduce rents where they were excessive, and where landlords were extortionate; but no power was given to deal with arrears.
- 11. Effects of the Act.—The Crimes Act was promptly put in force by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the Irish Chief Secretary. The Irish National League was proclaimed in certain districts as a dangerous association (August). At Mitchelstown the police

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The motion was not carried unless the majority consisted of at least 200.

came into collision with a mob, and unfortunately killed three persons and wounded others (September). Several Irish members of Parliament were imprisoned for attending "proclaimed" meetings, and for publishing reports of their proceedings. The effect of the Crimes Act was soon seen in a diminution of outrages and an increased observance of the law. So much was admitted by the Nationalists; but they maintained at the same time that the improvement was merely on the surface, and that the discontent and disaffection in Ireland were as strong as ever.

12. Jubilee of Queen Victoria: 1887.—These keen controversies did not prevent men of all parties from joining cordially in the celebration of the jubilee of the accession of her Majesty Queen Victoria. The event was celebrated with the greatest enthusiasm in all parts of Great Britain on the 21st of June. The Queen attended a thanksgiving service in Westminster Abbey, at which there were present the members of the royal family, European and Indian potentates, the nobility, and representatives of public bodies in all parts of the United Kingdom. The jubilee was commemorated in permanent forms of countless variety in all parts of the empire-by the erection of monuments, hospitals, museums, and libraries, by the dedication of public parks and fountains, and by other benefactions. Two of the projects assumed national proportions—the Imperial Institute, for which half a million sterling was subscribed; and the Women's Jubilee Offering, amounting to £75,000, the bulk of which her Majesty applied to the establishment of an institution for nurses of the sick poor.

Here the detailed narrative may appropriately close. More recent events have not yet had time to crystallize into history. It is pleasant to close with a great national demonstration of affection and loyalty towards the person of a Queen whose

Abroad.—In 1887, the one hundredth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States was celebrated in America.

In 1887, charges of fraudulent disposal of honours brought against M. Wilson, son-in-law of President Grévy (France), led to the resignation of the latter. M. Sadi-Carnot succeeded to the Presidency.

public conduct has always been as judicious as her private life has been irreproachable.

13. The Constitution.—Two important Acts for the Reform of Parliamentary Representation were passed in the reign of Queen Victoria. The Second Reform Act (1867) established household suffrage in boroughs, with a £10 lodger franchise; and in counties a £12 occupation franchise. In boroughs returning three members, each voter had only two votes. Similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland in 1868. In Scotland the occupation franchise was £14. In Ireland the borough franchise was reduced from £8 to £4. In England 46 boroughs were disfranchised in whole or in part, and of the 52 seats thus set free, 44 were given to England, 1 to Wales, and 7 to Scotland.

The Third Reform Act (1884) extended to counties the household and lodger franchise, and established the service franchise, giving votes to servants who occupied a dwellinghouse as part of their wages. The Distribution Act (1885) disfranchised boroughs with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants, and allowed those with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants only one member. Those with more than 50,000 received additional members in proportion to population. Single-member constituencies became the rule. The number of members in the House of Commons was increased from 658 to 670. seats were given to England and Wales, which, with 132 seats obtained by disfranchisement of small boroughs, gave 138 seats to be disposed of. Of these seats 72 were given to large boroughs, and 66 to counties. Twelve new seats were given to Scotland, which, with 2 seats obtained by disfranchisement, gave 14 seats to be disposed of. Of these 7 seats were given to large boroughs, and 7 to counties. In Ireland the number of seats was fixed at 103: 25 seats were taken from small boroughs, and 21 of these were given to counties, and 4 to Dublin and Belfast. Voting by ballot was adopted in the case of school-board elections in 1870. A Bill for its adoption in Parliamentary elections was passed by the Commons in 1871, and was rejected by the Lords. In the following year the Lords

passed the Bill, with a clause added limiting the operation of the Act to eight years. At the end of that time the Act was made permanent.

· That was not the only occasion on which, during this reign, the two Houses came into collision. The Lords threw out a Jewish Relief Bill, which the Commons had passed, in 1848, and again in 1853. In 1860, a Bill for abolishing the Paper Duty was carried in the Commons by 219 to 210, and was rejected in the Lords by 193 to 104. As the Bill was of the nature of a money bill, the action of the Lords caused much irritation, and the Prime Minister proposed and carried in the Commons a resolution with the view of preventing such interference in future; and in the following year the abolition of the Paper Duty was included in the Budget proposals, to which the Lords had no power to object. In 1868, a Bill for suspending patronage in the Irish Church passed the Commons, and was rejected by the Lords. The Scottish Education Bill and the University Tests Abolition Bill were treated in the same way in 1869. The latter was, however, accepted in 1871. the Army Regulation Bill of 1871, the Lords omitted the clause abolishing purchase; but the Ministry advised the Queen to cancel the royal warrant legalizing purchase; and then the Lords passed the Bill. The most serious collision was in 1884. when the Lords threw out the County Franchise Bill on the second reading. This led to many threatening demonstrations throughout the country; and in an autumn session a compromise between the two Houses was effected, and the Bill was passed. In 1885, a vote of censure on the Egyptian policy of the Gladstone Government was rejected by the Commons and carried by the Lords. Several measures were passed during the reign for the purpose of preventing bribery and corruption in connection with Parliamentary elections. Act of 1852 provided for the appointment of royal commissioners to inquire into cases of corruption. The Act of 1854 made the offer or the acceptance of a bribe a misdemeanour, punishable with fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture of the franchise. It also required the publication of election accounts, and

prohibited candidates from paying expenses except through their authorized agents. The Act of 1858 permitted the conveyance of voters to the poll, but forbade the giving of money to the voters for the purpose. The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 is the most important of the whole. The expenditure of each candidate and his agents is limited by the Act to a certain sum calculated on the number of electors; and heavy penalties are incurred if that limit is exceeded. A candidate proved to have been guilty of bribery, directly or indirectly, is incapacitated for sitting in the House of Commons, or for voting at an election, for seven years. Any person convicted of bribery, or of "undue influence," may be sent to prison for a year, and fined £200. The conveyance of electors to the poll in hired carriages is made an illegal practice.

Before 1868, election petitions, charging members with corrupt practices, were decided by the House of Commons on the report of a Select Committee (see page 181), and were too often treated as party questions. By a resolution of that year the House transferred its jurisdiction in such matters to one of the judges, who was required to report his decision to the Speaker after trying the case. In the case of conviction, besides the penalties inflicted on offending individuals, the House may suspend the writ or disfranchise the constituency. In 1880, it was enacted that a petition must be tried before two judges.

The property qualification required in the case of members of Parliament (£300 a year derived from freehold or copyhold) was abolished in 1858.

In 1858 also, an Act was passed enabling Jews to sit in Parliament. The Act allowed either House to modify its oath by resolution.

In 1880, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (an avowed atheist), elected for Northampton, claimed the right to make an affirmation of allegiance without taking the oath. He was allowed to do so, but the judges afterwards decided that the step was illegal. In February 1882, he was forbidden by a vote of the House to go through the form of repeating the words of the oath, as he proposed. A few days afterwards he appeared at the table of

the House, with a copy of the New Testament in his hand, and took the oath. He was then expelled from the House for violating its orders. A new writ having been issued for Northampton, Bradlaugh was re-elected; but the House repeated its former resolution. In February 1884, he again took the oath, but was excluded from the precincts of the House. He resigned his seat, and was again returned. In 1886, when the new Parliament met, Bradlaugh took the oath in due form, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Important changes in the rules of its procedure have been made by the House of Commons during the reign. These were rendered necessary by the systematic obstruction of business by certain members. By a resolution passed in 1877, the House took power to itself to prevent a member who had been twice called to order from again taking part in the debate. In 1880, a rule was made enabling the House to suspend for a sitting a member who had been "named" by the Speaker for having practised obstruction—three suspensions in one session to lead to suspension for a week, or longer. In 1881, the Speaker received power to limit discussion when "urgency" has been voted in debate. In 1882, the "closure" was adopted, but it was required to be initiated by the Speaker and to be supported by at least 200; or opposed by less than 40, and supported by at least 100. The rule was amended in 1887 by requiring a simple majority of 200. As a means of enabling the House of Commons to cope with the ever-increasing amount of business before it, the House in 1883 appointed two Grand Committees—the one for law and justice; the other for trade, shipping, and manufactures—to which Bills were sent for consideration, and which reported on them to the House.

In 1845, strangers were admitted to the galleries of the House, but it was still in the power of any member to request their withdrawal. In 1875, the rule was made that strangers should be excluded only on the vote of a majority of the House. The Speaker's right to close the House was still reserved to him.

Three times during the reign, persons convicted of treason or

treason-felony were excluded from the House after election, —Smith O'Brien in 1849, O'Donovan Rossa in 1870, and John Mitchell in 1875. The disqualification may be removed by serving the sentence, or by a pardon under the Great Seal.

The Irish Church Act (1869) removed the Irish bishops from the House of Lords. In 1856, the Committee of Privileges decided that a life peer was not entitled to sit and vote in the House of Lords. The case which raised the question was that of Sir James Parke, an eminent judge, who was created Baron Wensleydale for life by letters patent. He was afterwards made an hereditary peer. By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act (1876), two law lords were added to the Upper House as life peers. By the Amending Act of 1887, the number was increased to three, and a retired life peer was allowed to sit and vote in the House of Lords. Down till 1868, peers had the right to vote by proxy. In that year the right was abandoned.

Near the beginning of the reign, a question arose touching the prerogatives of the Crown. In 1839, Sir Robert Peel declined to become Prime Minister, because the Queen refused to allow the removal of the Ladies of the Household. The Queen held that the office was not, and ought not to be, a political one, and, therefore, that the ladies ought not to be required to resign when a Ministry went out of office. Peel pointed to the fact that two at least of the ladies were near relations of the outgoing ministers, and held that they might prejudice the mind of the Queen against her new advisers. The Queen had her way, and the question was not again raised.

In 1850, the Queen sent an important memorandum to the Foreign Secretary (Lord Palmerston), requiring him to inform her distinctly what he meant to do in any case before she gave her royal sanction, and forbidding the minister, under penalty of dismissal, to alter any measure after she had given her sanction to it. The Queen added that she expected to be kept informed of what passed between the Foreign Secretary and foreign ministers before decisions were taken; to receive foreign despatches in good time; and to receive drafts in sufficient time to allow her to make herself acquainted with them.

In 1871, an Act was passed transferring the authority over the militia, the yeomanry, and the volunteers from the lordlieutenants of counties to the Crown, and designating them "the reserved forces."

In 1876, the Queen assumed, by authority of Parliament, the additional title of Empress of India.

Several important changes have been made in the administrative departments of Government. In 1847, the Poor Law Board was established. In 1871, it was superseded by and absorbed in the Local Government Board. In 1854 the Secretaryship for War was separated from the Colonial Secretaryship. In 1856, the Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education became virtually a paid minister of education. In 1858, a Secretaryship of State for India was In 1885 an Act was passed constituting a Secreconstituted. taryship of State for Scotland.

The Supreme Court of Judicature Act was passed in 1873. It constituted one High Court of Justice (consolidating the Courts of Equity and Common Law) and a supreme Court of Appeal. The High Court of Justice held its first sitting in November 1875.

## CHIEF EVENTS.

- Privy Council on Education established-Afghan War.
- 1840. Marriage of the Queen with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.
- 1841. Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister.
- 1842. Income-Tax imposed.
- 1843. Secession of the Free Church in Scotland. 1844. Trial and conviction of O'Connell-Sentence reversed.
- 1845. Peel's New Tariff-Maynooth Act passed-Queen's College founded in Ireland.
- 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws-Potato famine in Ireland. 1847. Poor Law Board constituted-Lord John
- Russell Prime Minister. 1848. Chartist meeting in London-Mitchell and
- Smith O'Brien, Irish agitators, transported. 1851. Great Exhibition, London, opened.
- 1852. Lord Derby Prime Minister-Lord Aberdeen Prime Minister.
- 1854. The Russian War began—Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann-War Secretaryship separated from Colonial.

- 1839. Cheap postage introduced—Committee of | 1855. Lord Palmerston Prime Minister—Vienna Conference-Failure-Fall of Sebastopol. 1856. Seizure of the lorcha "Arrow," and
  - quarrel with China. 1857. The Indian Mutiny.
  - 1858. Lord Derby Prime Minister-The Mutiny suppressed—Government of India transferred to the Crown-Secretary of State-Treaty with China-Admission of Jews to Parliament.
  - 1859. The Volunteer movement sanctioned by the War Office -- Lord Palmerston Prime
  - 1860. Commercial Treaty with France. 1861. Abolition of the Paper Duty-Death of the
  - Prince Consort.
  - 1862. Sailing of the "Alabama," Confederate crniser.
  - 1863. Marriage of the Prince of Wales.
  - 1865. Earl Russell Prime Minister.
  - 1866. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland.
  - 1867. Lord Derby Prime Minister-The Second Reform Act—Household franchise.

- 1868, Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister-The Abyssinian expedition-Mr. Gladstone Prime Mininter.
- 1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.
- 1870. The Irish Land Act-The Elementary Education Act-The Home Rule League founded in Treland
- 1871. Abolition of Tests in Oxford and Cambridge—Treaty of Washington—Abolition of Purchase in the Army.
- 1872. Vote by Ballot adopted.
- 1878. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act.
- 1874. Mr. Digraeli Prime Minister.
- 1875. Purchase of shares in the Suez Canal.
- 1876. The Queen proclaimed Empress of India. 1877. Rise of Obstruction in Parliament.
- 1878. Treaty of Berlin-Invasion of Afghanistan.
- 1879. Zulu War-Irish Land League formed.
- 1880. Evictions and agrarian outrages in Ireland
- -Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister.

- 1881. Second Irish Land Rill-The Land League proclaimed.
- 1882. Murder of Cavendish and Burke in Dublin -War in Egypt-Adoption of the "closure" in the House of Commons.
- 1883. War in the Egyptian Soudan.
- 1884. General Gordon sent to Khartoum-Third Reform Act (county franchise).
- 1885. Death of Gordon at Khartoum-Lord Salisbury Prime Minister-Distribution of Seats Act-Irish Land Purchase (Ashbourne's) Act Secretary of Scotland Act.
- 1886. Bradlaugh allowed to take his seat-Scottish Crofters' Act passed-Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister-Irish Home Rule Bill defeated - Lord Salisbury Prime Minister-Rupture of the Liberal party-"Plan of Campaign " adopted.
- 1887. New Procedure Rules in Commons-Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

#### NAMES OF NOTE.

- Earl of Aberdeen (George Hamilton Gordon), Foreign Secretary, 1828-30; again, 1841-46; Colonial Secretary, 1834-35; Prime Minister. 1852-55 : died. 1860.
- Albert, Prince Consort, born, 1819; married Queen Victoria, 1840; promoted first Great Exhibition, 1849-51; created "Prince Consort." 1857: died, 1861.
- Earl of Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli), born, 1805; entered Parliament, 1837; became Protectionist, 1846; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1852; again, 1858-59; again, 1866-68; Prime Minister, 1868; again, 1874-80; a peer, 1876; author of numerous novels, 1826-1880; died, 1881.
- John Bright, born, 1811; M.P. for Durham, 1843 : promoted Anti-Corn-Law League. 1839-46; President of Board of Trade, 1868-70: Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. 1873-74; died, 1889.
- Isaac Butt, Irish barrister: M.P. for Limerick. 1871; leader of Home Rule party, 1872; retired from leadership, 1878; died, 1879.
- Earl Cairns (Hugh M'Calmont), a native of County Down; called to the bar, 1844; M.P. for Belfast, 1852; Solicitor-General, 1858; Attorney-General, 1866; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1866; a peer, 1867; Lord Chancellor, 1868; again, 1874-80; died, 1885.
- Joseph Chamberlain, chairman of Birmingham School Board, 1873; mayor, 1873-75; M.P. for Birmingham, 1876; President of the Board of Trade, 1880-85; President of Local Government Board, 1885; again, 1886; resigned, and became a Liberal Unionist, 1886.
- Lord Clyde (Colin Campbell), born, 1792; fought in Peninsular War, 1808-13; in the Punjab, 1848-49; in the Crimea, 1854-55; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1857-58; a peer, 1858; died, 1863.
- Richard Cobden, born, 1804; promoted Anti-

- Corn-Law League, 1839-46; M.P. for Stockport. 1841 : advocated arbitration and peace. 1849; negotiated Commercial Treaty with France, 1860 : died, 1865.
- Earl of Derby (Edward Geoffrey Smith), Colonial Secretary, 1841-45; called to Upper House in his father's lifetime, 1844; Earl of Derby, 1851; Prime Minister, 1852; again, 1858-59; again, 1866; retired, 1868; died, 1869.
- William Edward Forster, entered Parliament, 1861; Under-Secretary for Colonies, 1865-66: Vice-President of Committee of Council on Education, 1869-74; in Cabinet, 1870; carried Elementary Education Act, 1870; Ballot Act, 1872; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1880; resigned, 1882; died, 1886.
- William Ewart Gladstone, born, 1809; Vice-President of Board of Trade, 1841; President of Board of Trade, 1848-45; Colonial Secretary, 1845-46; separated from the Tories, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1852-55; first Budget, 1853; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1855: left Palmerston's Ministry with other "Peelites," 1855; Lord High Commissioner to Ionian Islands, 1858; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1859-65; again, and leader of the House of Commons, 1865-66; proposed to disestablish the Irish Church, 1868; Prime Minister, 1868-74; retired from leadership of Liberal party, 1875; led in agitation against the Beaconsfield Ministry, 1879; Prime Minister, second time, 1880-85; a third time (February to July), 1886; defeated on Home Rule scheme, 1886.
- Major-General Charles George Gordon, entered Royal Engineers; served in Crimea, 1854-56; engaged in Chinese War, 1860; commanded the Chinese imperial forces against the Taepings, hence "Chinese Gordon," 1862-64, Governor-General of the Soudan, 1874-79; again in China, assisting the Gov-

- Soudan, 1884, killed at Khartoum, 1885.
- George Joachim Goschen, entered Parliament, 1863: Vice-President of the Board of Trade. 1865; Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster, 1866; President of Poor Law Board, 1868-71; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1871-74; sent to Cairo to arrange financial affairs, 1876; opposed county franchise, and did not join Gladstone's Ministry in 1880; mission to Constantinople, 1880, opposed Gladstone's Home Rule policy, 1886; Chancellor of Exchequer in Salisbury Ministry, 1887.
- Earl Granville (George Leveson-Gower), M.P. for Morpeth. 1836; Foreign Under-Secretary, 1840; House of Lords, 1846; Vice-President of Board of Trade, 1848; Foreign Secretary, 1851-52: President of the Council and Liberal leader of House of Lords, 1855-58; again, 1859-65; again, 1865-66; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1865 : Colonial Secretary, 1868-70; Foreign Secretary 1870-74; again, 1880-85; Colonial Secretary, 1886; supported Gladstone's Home Rule policy, 1886. -
- Sir William Vernon Harcourt, entered Parliament, 1868: Solicitor-General, 1873-74: Home Secretary, 1880-85; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1886.
- Marquis of Hartington (Spencer Compton Cavendish), entered Parliament, 1857; a lord of the Admiralty, 1863; Under-Secretary for War, 1863; Secretary for War, 1866; Postmaster-General, 1869-71; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1871-74; chosen leader of the Liberal party, 1874; Secretary for India, 1880-82; Secretary for War, 1882-85; declined to join the Gladstone Ministry, 1886; leader of Liberal Unionist party, 1886.
- General Sir Henry Havelock, entered the army 1815 : served in India, 1823 : in Burma, 1824 : ın Punjab, 1845, in the Indian Mutiny; relieved Lucknow, died, 1857.
- Sir Rowland Hill, born, 1795; pamphlet on postal reform, 1837; appointed to carry it out, 1840-42; received a national testimonial, 1846; Secretary to the Postmaster-General, 1846; Chief Secretary, 1854-64; died, 1879.
- Lord Lawrence (John Laird Mair), checked the mutiny at Lahore, 1857; Viceroy of India, 1863-68, a peer, 1869, chairman of first London School Board, 1870-73, died, 1879.
- Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, served in Afghanistan, 1843, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, 1856; died of his wounds at Lucknow, 1857.
- Viscount Melbourne (William Lamb), Prime Minister, 1834; again, 1835-41; died. 1848. Right Hon. John Morley, called to the bar. 1873; author of "Life of Cobden." "Life of Burke," etc.; editor of "Fortnightly Review," 1867-82; editor of "Pall Mall Gazette," 1881-83; editor of "Macmillan's Magazine," 1883-85, entered Parliament, 1883: Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1886.

- ernment, 1881; sent to relieve garrisons in | Daniel O'Connell, M.P. for Bublin, 1837; supported the Whig party, 1837-41; agitated for Repeal of the Union, 1843; condemned for sedition; sentence reversed by House of Lords, 1844, died at Genoa, 1847.
  - General Sir James Outram, went to India, 1819; served in Afghanistan, 1838-39; active in suppressing Indian Mutiny, 1857-58; thanked by Parliament, 1860; died, 1863.
  - Viscount Palmerston (Henry John Temple), Foreign Secretary, 1835-41; again, 1846-51; Home Secretary, 1852-55; Prime Minister, 1855-58; again, 1859-65; died, 1865.
  - Charles Stuart Parnell, M.P. for Meath, 1875; first president of the Land League, 1879: raised £70,000 in America for distress in Ireland, 1879; elected leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, 1880; arrested on charge of intimidation, 1881; released, 1882; alliance with Liberals, 1886; supported Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, 1886.
  - Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister second time, 1841-46; died, 1850.
  - Lord Raglan (Fitzroy, James Henry Somerset), son of the Duke of Beaufort; served in Peninsular War, 1807-15; lost an arm at Waterloo, 1815; a peer, 1852; Commander-in-Chief in the Orimea, 1854; died, 1855.
  - Lord Roberts, Frederick, entered Indian army, 1851; served with distinction in the Mutiny. 1857-58; in Abyssinian War, 1868; in Afghan War, 1878; famous march from Cabul to Candahar, 1878; a baronet, 1881; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1885.
  - Earl of Rosebery (Archibald Philip Primrose). succeeded, 1868; Endowments Commissioner. 1872; Under-Secretary of State, Home Office, 1881-83; Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works, 1885; Poreign Secretary, 1886.
  - Earl Russell (Lord John Russell), Colonial Secretary, 1839-41; Prime Minister, 1846-52; Foreign Secretary, 1852-53; Lord President of the Council, 1854-55; Colonial Secretary, 1855; Foreign Secretary, 1859-65; a peer, 1861 : Prime Minister, 1865-66 ; died, 1878.
  - Marquis of Salisbury (Robert Arthur Cecil), born, 1830; M.P. for Stamford, 1853; Secretary of State for India, 1866-67; Lord Cranborne, 1866 : Marquis of Salisbury, 1867 : Secretary for India, 1874-78; Constantinople Conference, 1876; Berlin Congress, 1878; Foreign Secretary, 1878-80; Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, 1885: again, 1886.
  - Duke of Wellington (Arthur Wellesley), Commander-in-Chief, 1842: died at Walmer Castle, 1852.
  - Viscount Wolseley (Garnet Joseph), entered the army, 1852; served in second Burmese War. 1852; in Crimea, 1854-55; in India, 1857-59: in China, 1860; in Canada, 1862-70; Red River Expedition, 1867; commanded in Ashantee War, 1873-74; in South Africa, 1879; in Egypt, 1882; a peer, 1882; in the Soudan, 1884-85.

# CHAPTER XXXV.—PROGRESS OF THE NINE-TEENTH CENTURY.

- 1. Steamships and Railways.—The application of steam to the purposes of locomotion has wrought a marvellous change on the life of the civilized world since the present century began. In 1811, Henry Bell, an innkeeper of Helensburgh, launched on the Clyde the Comet, a vessel of twenty-five tons' burden, propelled by steam. Four years later, George Stephenson constructed a locomotive engine capable of drawing waggons on a railway. Aided by his son Robert, he placed the Rocket on the rails of the new line between Liverpool and Manchester in 1830; and thenceforward the railway system grew and expanded over the world. The first ocean triumphs, achieved by steamboats, were the voyage of the Savannah from New York to London in twenty-six days (1819), and that of the Enterprise Now the great ocean steamers-floating to India (1825). palaces, built of iron and steel, lit throughout with the electric light, and carrying hundreds of passengers-cross the Atlantic in less than six days.
- 2. Steam in Factories.—Soon after its introduction, the steamengine was in use in all kinds of factories. Other inventions made it possible to apply it on a wide scale. Before the end of last century the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright had started the cotton trade on its marvellous career. The steam-engine is largely used in metal works, for the turning, planing, and drilling of iron and steel. One of the most wonderful of recent inventions is the steam-hammer, invented by James Nasmyth, which can in a few minutes beat out a huge mass of iron into a thin plate. Steam has also been applied to the printing-press, and has been the chief cause of the production of cheap books and newspapers in vast quantities.
- 3. The Penny Postage The Telegraph. The efforts of Rowland Hill, the son of a Birmingham schoolmaster, resulted in 1840 in the establishment of a general penny postage, which has had the effect of immensely increasing correspondence.

This was comparatively a slight matter when viewed beside the achievement of Wheatstone and Cooke, who, in 1837, jointly constructed the electric telegraph. Their first successful trial took place on wires laid between Euston Square in London and Camden Town. A necessary sequel was the invention of the submarine cable, of which the first idea occurred in 1842 to Morse, the famous American electrician. Jacob Brett reduced the idea to a practical form in 1851, by laying a wire wrapped in gutta-percha from Dover to Calais. This was followed in 1866 by the gigantic enterprise of placing a cable across the Atlantic between Ireland and Newfoundland.

- 4. Iron and Steel Ships.—In 1821, an iron ship, put together in a London dock, steamed down the Channel to Havre. The application of iron armour to vessels of war followed after a few years. These ironclads, as they are called, came into use during the Civil War in America. The hull of the vessel consists of plates of iron, or of steel. Armour has been recently applied also to forts. A shot-proof turret, or cupola, revolving on a pivot, and containing a large gun, is generally placed on the ironclad or in the iron fort.
- 5. Steel Guns and Rifles.—Steel cannon, not cast, but built ring by ring, are now made, weighing eighty or one hundred tons, and capable of throwing an enormous conical shell with such force as to penetrate iron plates several inches thick. In small guns or fire-arms remarkable changes and improvements have been made. The old flint musket has given place to the breech-loading rifle, capable of sending a conical bullet to a great distance with remarkable precision and force. Another addition to the engines of destruction is the machine-gun, which consists of rows of rifles fired continuously by turning a wheel.
- 6. Iron and Steel Bridges—Crystal Palaces.—The modern applications of iron and steel have not been confined to the science of destruction. In addition to the railroads, locomotives, and steamboats already noticed, vast bridges, such as the Britannia Tubular Bridge across the Menai Strait (1805), have been constructed of iron. It has been applied also to building purposes, of which the crystal palaces, the first of (898)

which was erected for the Great Exhibition of 1851, have been the most notable examples. The Forth Bridge (1890), which has the widest spans in the world (1,700 feet), is built of steel, on the cantilever or bracket principle.

- 7. Minor Inventions.—The general use of coal gas (first employed to light the streets of London in 1815), the advance of photography (first applied to the taking of portraits in 1839), the invention of the sewing-machine, the gas-engine, the type-writer, the electric light and the telephone, may be noted as steps of progress. In sanitary affairs, the removal of cemeteries to the outskirts of cities—the improved ventilation and sewerage of houses—the enforcement of vaccination by law—have done much to abate the virulence of infectious diseases such as cholera and small-pox, and to improve the tone of public health.
- 8. Providence Education Newspapers. Providence among the working-classes has been encouraged by the establishment of savings-banks, the increased facilities afforded by insurance companies, and the spread of education. Emigration to the colonies clears the land of its surplus population; while the poor-houses, under Government control, minister to the wants of those unable to support themselves. Not only is free elementary education placed within reach of every child in Great Britain, but school attendance is made compulsory. The repeal of the paper duty (1861) gave a great impulse to the diffusion of literature and the extension of education. The abolition of the newspaper stamp, and the subsequent reduction of the postage to one halfpenny, gave a great stimulus to newspaper enterprise.
- 9. The North-west Passage. Remarkable progress has been made in geographical discovery during the nineteenth century. The secret of the north-west passage from Europe to the Pacific Ocean has been solved by two independent explorers. The earlier was the hapless Sir John Franklin, who left England in 1845, and who perished with all his associates. Captain Robert Maclure, in the *Investigator*, sailed from Behring Sea to Baffin Sea, in October 1850. A new British Arctic expedition, equipped for scientific purposes, was sent

out by Government in 1875, under the command of Sir George Nares. The highest latitude reached was 83° 20′ N. This was surpassed by the expedition of Lieutenant Greely of the United States army (1881–84), which reached 83° 24′ N.—the farthest point by land or sea yet attained by civilized man.

- 10. Exploration of Australia.—The most successful explorer of Australia was Captain Sturt, who in 1829 traced the course of the tributaries of the Murray, and in 1847 penetrated the sandy interior of the continent. A tragic interest hangs over the expedition of Burke and Wills, who died of starvation at Cooper's Creek in 1860-61. In 1862, Stuart succeeded in crossing the continent from south to north. Much of the interior has now been explored.
- 11. Exploration of Africa.—In Africa, the basin of the Zambesi was explored by David Livingstone. During his first journey (1849) he discovered Lake Ngami. His second (1852-56) resulted in the discovery on the Zambesi of the Victoria Falls, a cataract larger than Niagara. He then explored Lake Nyassa (1859), and everywhere found a fertile In his last journey he explored Lake Tanganyika and the water-system of Central Africa. He died at Ilala in May 1873. In 1876 Lieutenant Cameron accomplished the feat of crossing Central Africa from the east to the west coast. was done with better effect a year or two later by Mr. H. M. Stanley, who descended the Lualaba, and found it to be the Congo. As the result of further explorations in this fertile region, a new state—the Congo Free State—was organized under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians. The whole of the east coast of Africa has been divided into "spheres of influence," regulated by the British, French, German, and Portuguese Governments respectively. The extensive region between the Zambesi and Cape Colony has been brought under British The Nile has also received its share of attention from explorers. Captain Speke penetrated the continent from Zanzibar, and discovered (1858) a vast lake, which he named Victoria Nyanza, which is the main source of the Nile.

## APPENDIX.

## 1. THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS.

- 1. Its composite Character.—The government of Great Britain, Ireland, and the English colonies and dependencies, is vested in the Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament,—the House of Lords and the House of Commons. It is thus a mixed government,—not pure monarchy, nor pure aristocracy, nor pure democracy, but a compound of all three—a Limited or Constitutional monarchy.
- 2. The Sovereign.—The crown is hereditary, and females are not excluded; but the Sovereign must be a Protestant of the Church of England. The Sovereign has power to make war and peace; to pardon a convicted criminal; to summon, prorogue, and dissolve Parliament; to coin money; and to confer nobility. The assent of the Sovereign is also necessary to every new law. But these prerogatives are now exercised by the Sovereign under the advice of the Ministry for the time being; or by the Ministry in the name of the Sovereign.
- 3. The House of Lords.—The chief business of the two Houses of Parliament is to make laws, and to vote money for the public service. The "three Estates of the realm" are the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. The Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal constitute the Upper House, or House of Lords, nearly as follows:—

LORDS SPIRITUAL.		
English Archbishops	2	
English Bishops.	24	
		26
LORDS TEMPORAL.		
Royal Princes.	5	
Hereditary Peers	479	
Scottish representative Peers, elected for each Parlia-		
ment.	16	
Irish representative Peers, elected for life	28	
Life Peers	4	
		532
Total		558
10041	•••••	500

The Lord Chancellor, sitting on the woolsack, acts as president or chairman of the Lords. New laws are introduced in the form of Bills. Any Bill,

except a money Bill, may originate in the House of Lords. As the Sovereign, advised by the Ministry, may create new peers at any time, the number of members of the House of Lords is constantly changing.

4. The House of Commons.—The House of Commons, or Lower House of Parliament, consists of 670 representatives of the counties, boroughs, and universities in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, distributed as follows:—

	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
County Members City and Borough " University "	234 226 5	19 11 0	39 31 2	89 12 2	381 280 9
Total	465	30	72	103	670

- 5. The Electors.—The electors, both in boroughs and in counties, are householders rated for the relief of the poor, lodgers occupying rooms valued at £10 a year unfurnished, and persons in service who occupy free houses as part of their remuneration. The members for the universities are elected by the graduates.
- 6. Functions of the Commons.—The chairman of the Commons is called the Speaker, because he is their spokesman or representative in approaching the Sovereign. A Speaker is elected at the beginning of each new Parliament. Any Bill may be introduced in the House of Commons; and money Bills can originate in that House alone. Thus, commanding the sources of supply, it can effectually control the Sovereign. In great emergencies it also controls the Upper House; for a Ministry, strongly supported in the House of Commons, may advise the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of new peers to give its party a majority in the House of Lords. The threat of this measure has generally induced the Lords to yield to the wishes of the Commons.
- 7. Adjournment—Prorogation—Dissolution.—Each House of Parliament may adjourn its meetings from day to day. The Sovereign, advised by the Ministry, prorogues Parliament from session to session; and dissolves it when a new Parliament is to be elected. The duration of a Parliament is limited by law to seven years; but no Parliament, since that law was passed (1716), has exceeded six years and two months in duration.
- 8. Law-making.—The process of law-making is conducted as follows:—The proposed law is introduced in either House in the form of a Bill, after leave has been given so to do. After being read for the first time, usually without opposition, it is ordered to be printed, to acquaint the members with its details. The Bill is then printed and circulated, and a day is fixed for the second reading. The first debate and voting usually take place on the question whether the Bill shall pass this reading or not. If it pass the second reading, the House goes into Committee on the Bill, and proceeds to consider and vote upon each clause separately. The committee consists of the same members as the House, but the Chairman of Committees takes the

place of the Speaker, and the strict rules of debate and forms of procedure observed in the House are relaxed, to the extent of allowing a member to speak oftener than once on the same clause. After the Bill has passed through committee, it is reported to the House in its amended form, and is ready for the third reading. If it pass this reading, it is then sent to the other House. There it undergoes an exactly similar process—three readings, with a detailed examination in committee between the second and the third. If amended or altered there, the Bill is sent back to the House in which it originated, which either agrees to the amendments or not, and may demand a conference with the other House to settle differences. When the Bill has finally passed both Houses, the royal assent is required before it can become an act or law. This is given either personally or by commission. No Sovereign has ventured to exercise the right of veto—that is, of withholding the royal assent—since 1707.

- 9. The Privy Council.—From very early times, the advisers of the Sovereign have been known as the Privy Council, the members of which are dignified with the title of Right Honourable. But this body was found to be too numerous, and too widely scattered, for the systematic transaction of business. It moreover consists of men of different parties and conflicting views. It therefore became customary, after the Revolution of 1688, to intrust the government to a committee of the Privy Council, called the Cabinet.
- 10. The Ministry—Cabinet.—The head of the Ministry is the Prime Minister. He used to owe his office to the good-will or favour of the Sovereign, but now he owes it to the confidence of his supporters in Parliament. The Sovereign chooses as Prime Minister the recognized leader of that political party which has a majority in the House of Commons for the time, and intrusts him with the task of forming a Ministry from among his own supporters. The chief ministers form the Cabinet, which determines the policy of the Ministry, and the measures which are to be proposed to Parliament. The Cabinet is not a body recognized by the Constitution. A Cabinet council is merely a private conference of ministers. The Cabinet consists necessarily of—
  - 1. The Prime Minister, or First Lord of the Treasury.\*
  - 2. The Lord Chancellor.
  - 3. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.
  - 4. The Home Secretary.
  - 5. The Foreign Secretary.
  - 6. The Colonial Secretary.
  - 7. The Indian Secretary.
  - 8. The Secretary of War.
  - 9. The President of the Privy Council.

The following ministers have also at different times been included in the Cabinet; but that body does not usually consist of more than fourteen or fifteen members:—

<sup>\*</sup> Sometimes these two offices are held by different ministers; and the Prime Minister may at the same time hold some other office, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Foreign Secretary.

The First Lord of the Admiralty.

The President of the Board of Trade.

The President of the Local Government Board.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Secretary of State for Scotland.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The Postmaster-General.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

- 11. Appeal to the Country.—When a Ministry loses the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons, it is customary for it to resign. The Sovereign then intrusts the leader of the opposite party with the formation of a Ministry. Instead of resigning, a defeated Ministry may advise the Sovereign to dissolve the Parliament and to call a new one, in the hope that the constituencies may return a majority of members favourable to its views. This is called an "appeal to the country."
- 12. Colonial Governments.—The colonies and dependencies have their internal affairs administered by resident governors and councils, appointed by the Crown, and controlled in London by a Secretary of State, who is a member of the Cabinet. The more populous and older colonies have been placed as much as possible on the footing of self-government—that is to say, there is in each a legislative assembly elected by the people.
- 13. The Dominion of Canada.—The Dominion of Canada may be taken as an example of a self-governed colony. The executive power is vested in the Governor-General, aided by a Privy Council, all the members of which are appointed by the Crown. The Legislature consists of two Houses: the Senate, or Upper House, consisting of seventy-seven members appointed by the Governor-General in Council; and the House of Commons, consisting of two hundred members elected by the people for the term of five years. The Executive Council, or Ministry, is responsible to the House of Commons—that is to say, when it ceases to command a majority there it resigns. For local purposes, each province has a Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislature of its own—the latter generally consisting of two Houses.
- 14. Government of India.—India is an example of a dependency still directly under imperial control. Since 1858, the affairs of India have been regulated by the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Council, sitting in London, of which the Secretary is president. The Council consists of fifteen members—seven appointed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and eight by the Crown. The executive authority in India is vested in the Viceroy, appointed by the Crown, and responsible to the Secretary of State for India.
- 15. Government of Ceylon.—Ceylon, which as a colony is independent of India, is an example of a government in which the local and the imperial elements are combined. But the influence of the latter greatly preponderates. The Governor and the executive council of five members are appointed by the Crown. The legislative council contains fifteen members—five of them are the executive council, other four are also officials, and six only are unofficial and elected.

## 2. SUMMARY OF RECENT EVENTS.

- 1888. A Local Government Act for England and Wales was passed, establishing County Councils, three-fourths of the members of which are elected and one-fourth selected. To these councils were transferred the administrative and financial powers of the quarter sessions and the county justices.
- Under the direction of the Chief Secretary (Mr. A. J. Balfour), the Crimes Act was stringently administered in Ireland. The number of outrages and agrarian crimes decreased; but the imprisonment of Nationalist speakers and newspaper writers continued, and complaints were made of their treatment in prison.
  - Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin as Viceroy of India.
- The Rules of Procedure of the House of Commons were further amended: the majority required for the closure was reduced to 100; the House to meet at 3 o'clock instead of 4; no opposed business to be taken after 12, midnight; the House, as a rule, to rise at 1 A.M.
- "The Times" newspaper having accused Mr. Parnell and other Irish members of being accessory to crimes and outrages, a Special Commission was appointed by Parliament to try the case.
- An Irish Land Purchase Act passed, on the same lines as the Ashbourne Act (1885), voting ten millions sterling to enable tenants to buy their holdings.
- Lord Cross's Commission on Elementary Education reported in favour of abolishing payment on the results of individual examination. This was given effect to in the Code of 1889.
- 1889. A Local Government Act for Scotland was passed, establishing elective County Councils, and granting Scotland's portion of the probate duty in relief of fees in elementary schools. A new Universities Act for Scotland, appointing an Executive Commission, was also passed.
- Mr. H. M. Stanley reached the east coast of Africa along with Emin Pasha, whom he had gone to relieve at Wadelai, on Lake Albert Nyanza. Stanley started from the west coast in 1887, and travelled inland by the basin of the Congo.
- 1890. The Special Commission of 1888 delivered its Report. The letters, the publication of which originated the charges, were declared to be forgeries. Certain specific charges brought against Mr. Parnell were held not to have been proved; but he and others were found to have countenanced intimidation which led to crime, and to have conspired against landlords.
- The British Government made an agreement with the German Government, by which their respective spheres of influence in Africa were defined. Heligoland was ceded to Germany, and the protectorate of Zanzibar was granted to Great Britain.
- A decision of the divorce court in the O'Shea case led to the deposition of Mr. Parnell from the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary party, and to the rupture of that party. The majority (Anti-Parnellites) adopted Mr. Justin M'Carthy as leader.
- 1891. Parliament passed the Assisted Education Act for England, providing money for the abolition of fees up to ten shillings per scholar, and allowing

fees to be charged in their excess above that sum. This made education free in many schools. As Scotland had already appropriated money to free education, she received an "equivalent grant," which was applied partly to local purposes, and partly to university and secondary education.

- Earl Granville died in March, and Mr. Parnell in October.

1892. An Elementary Education Act for Ireland was passed. It applied Ireland's "equivalent grant" (see 1891) to providing free education in all elementary schools.

- Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of the Prince

of Wales, died at Sandringham.

- By his father's death, the Marquis of Hartington became Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Chamberlain was chosen as leader of the Liberal Unionist party in the Commons.
- A general election took place in July. The new House of Commons consisted of 274 Liberals, 81 Irish Nationalists, 269 Conservatives, and 46 Liberal Unionists. Having been defeated on an amendment to the Address, the Salisbury Government resigned, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time.
  - Lord Tennyson, the Poet-Laureate, died in October.
- A Special Commission was appointed by the Irish Viceroy to inquire into the case of evicted tenants on certain estates.

# SUMMARY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

## L.-THE STUART SOVEREIGNS .- (Continued.)

#### WILLIAM III. AND MARY IL

- 1689. The Convention is made into a Parliament. "Non-jurors" refuse to take the new oath of allegiance and supremacy. The Annual Mutiny Bill passed for the first time. The Bill of Rights passed as a statute, embodying chief points in the Declaration of Right.
- 1693. Beginning of the National Debt, in a loan raised by Charles Montague.
- 1694. The Triennial Act passed.
- 1695. Act against bribery in elections. Censorship of the Press dropped.
- 1701. Act of Settlement passed. Right of petitioning Parliament established.

#### ANNE

- 1707. The Act of Union of England and Scotland.
- 1708. Pensioners of the Crown and holders of offices created after October 25, 1705, prevented from sitting in Parliament.
- 1708. Establishment of the principle of government by party—the Ministry representing the majority in the House of Commons.
- 1710. An Act passed fixing a Property Qualification for members of Parliament.
- 1711. The Earl of Oxford creates twelve new Peers, to secure a majority in the House of Lords. An Act is passed against Occasional Conformity
- 1712. Lay Patronage restored in the Church of Scotland.
- 1714. The Schism Act passed, requiring all schoolmasters in England to be members of the Church of England.

## II.-THE HANOVERIAN SOVEREIGNS.

### GEORGE L

- 1715. The Riot Act passed.
- 1716. The Septennial Act passed.
- 1718. Repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act.
- 1719. The British Parliament is authorized to legislate for Ireland (till 1782).

#### GEORGE IL

- 1728. The publication of the debates in Parliament declared to be a breach of privilege (also in 1738).
- 1742. The Place Bill is passed, restricting the number of offices which might be held by members of Parliament.

#### GEORGE III.

- 1762. A new Bribery Act passed, attaching fines to the offence.
- 1763. Placemen are dismissed on account of their votes in Parliament.
- 1770. Transference of the hearing of election petitions from the House of Commons to a Select Committee.
- 1770. Lord Mansfield decides that a jury cannot declare whether a publication is libellous, but only whether it has been published.
- 1771. Publication of debates in Parliament by Wilkes, in defiance of the House of Commons.
- 1772. The Royal Marriage Act passed.
- 1774. Wilkes is allowed to take his seat for Middlesex, after a long struggle (1763). At the general election, the representation of Gatton is sold for £75,000. The average price of a small borough was £4,000.
- 1780. A great petition in favour of economical reform, sent up from Yorkshire, is received by the House of Commons. (See 1701.) A motion carried in the Commons declares that the power of the Crown ought to be diminished.
- 1782. Government contractors are excluded from the House of Commons.

  Revenue officers are deprived of their votes. Legislative independence granted to Ireland (Grattan's Parliament).
- 1782. Regulation and classification of the Civil List; reduction of pensions.
- 1783. By the King's threats, the Lords are induced to reject Fox's India Bill, which the Commons had passed.
- 1784. Limitation of the poll to 15 days (instead of 40) at elections.
- 1785. The Parliamentary session opened in January or February.
- 1792. A Libel Bill passed, allowing juries to decide whether a publication is libellous, and not merely whether it has been published. (See 1770.)
- 1794. A separate Secretaryship of State for War is established.
- 1801. Union of Great Britain and Ireland takes effect. War and the Colonies placed under one Secretary of State (till 1854).
- 1811. The Prince of Wales is made Regent by Act of Parliament.
- 1817. The Naval and Military Officers' Oath Bill is passed, opening all ranks of the services to Roman Catholics and other Dissenters.
- 1819. Passing of the Six Acts against seditious meetings, blasphemous publications, training in the use of arms, etc.

#### GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV.

- 1823. A monster petition in favour of Parliamentary Reform is sent from Yorkshire to the House of Commons (signed by 17,000 freeholders).
- 1828. Repeal of the Corporation Act (1661) and the Test Act (1673).
- 1829. The Catholic Relief Bill is passed after a prolonged struggle. An Act

- passed disfranchising 40s. freeholders in Ireland, and raising the qualification of voters to £70 rental.
- 1832. The First Reform Act is passed after a prolonged struggle. The number of members for Scotland was increased from 45 to 53, and those for Ireland from 100 to 105.
- 1833. An Act is passed enabling Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists returned to the House of Commons to substitute an affirmation for an oath. Abolition of slavery in the British Colonies from August 1, 1834. The Scottish Municipal Reform Act is passed.
- 1835. The Municipal Reform Act is passed.
- 1836. Publication of the Division Lists of the House of Commons begins.

#### VICTORIA.

- 1837. The number of capital offences is largely reduced about this time.
- 1840. The Irish Municipal Reform Act is passed.
- 1842. Peel revises the customs tariff, and imposes an income tax.
- 1845. Further large reduction of the customs tariff.
- 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws and introduction of Free Trade.
- 1847. The Poor Law Board is constituted.
- 1848. The Treason-felony Act is passed, to put down sedition in Ireland.
- 1851. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act is passed.
- 1852. New Bribery Act, providing for inquiry by a Commission.
- 1853. Large remission of taxes by Gladstone. Repeal of the Advertisement Duty (1855).
- 1854. The Corrupt Practices Act is passed, requiring publication of election accounts, and all expenses to be paid through the authorized agents of candidates. War Secretaryship separated from the Colonial.
- 1856. The creation of Life Peers declared to be illegal.
- 1858. New Corrupt Practices Act. Abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament. New India Act passed, transferring the powers of the Company to the Crown, and constituting a Secretary of State for India. Admission of Jews to Parliament.
- 1860. The Lords reject a Government Bill abolishing the Paper Duty.
- 1861. The abolition of the Paper Duty included in the Budget. New Bank-ruptcy Act; imprisonment of debtors abandoned.
- 1867. The Second Reform Act is passed, establishing household franchise in boroughs. Seven additional members given to Scotland.
- 1868. Voting by proxy abandoned by the Lords. The trial of election petitions is transferred from a committee of the Commons to the judges.
- 1870. English Elementary Education Act passed. The Irish Home Rule League founded (1873).
- 1871. Abolition of religious Tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. New Army Regulation Act; abolition of Purchase by Royal Warrant. The Crown resumes authority over the reserve forces. The Local Government Board (superseding the Poor Law Board) is constituted.
- 1872. The Ballot Act is passed for eight years. Scottish Elementary Education Act passed.

1873. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act is passed.

1876. The Queen is authorized to assume the title of Empress of India.

1882. New Rule of Procedure applies the "closure" if 200 vote in the majority, or if 100 vote in the majority and the minority is under 40.

1883. New Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act is passed.

1884. The Third Reform Act is passed, making household and lodger franchise uniform in counties and boroughs.

1885. Redistribution of Seats Act passed, making number of members depend on population, and adopting, with a few exceptions, single-member districts. England, 465 members; Wales, 30; Scotland, 72; Ireland, 103: total, 670. Secretary of State for Scotland Act passed, placing Scottish affairs under a separate department.

1887. New Rule of Procedure in the House of Commons, allowing the "closure" to be applied by a simple majority of 200. Celebration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

# SOVEREIGNS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### HOUSE OF STUART.

WILLIAM	III.	AND M	ARY I	Ι.,	 •••	1689-1694
WILLIAM	III.,	•••	•••	•••	 	1694-1702
ANNE,		•			 	1702-1714

#### HOUSE OF HANOVER.

GEORGE I.,	•••	 •••	•••	 1714-1727
GEORGE II.,		 	•••	 1727-1760
GEORGE III.,		 	•••	 1760-1820
GEORGE IV.,		 		 1820-1830
WILLIAM IV.,		 •••		 1830-1837
VICTORIA,		 		 1837

# GLOSSARY OF HISTORICAL TERMS.

**Adjournment**, the postponement of the meeting of either House of Parliament from one day to another.

Adullamites, seceding Liberals who voted against the Government Reform Bill in 1866, led by Mr. Robert Lowe, and included Horsman, Lord Elcho, Earl Grosvenor, and Lord Robert Grosvenor. When King David fled for fear of Saul, and felt himself unsafe in Gath, he took refuge in "the cave of Adullam," where he was joined by 400 malcontents (1 Sam. xxii. 1).

Allen Act (1793), for the supervision, and, if necessary, the expulsion of foreigners resident in Great Britain. It was renewed in 1818.

Alliance, The Triple (1717), made by Great Britain, France, and Holland, to guarantee the Hanoverian succession.

Anti-Corn-Law League, a league formed in 1838 by the advocates of the abolition of the Corn Laws, led by Richard Cobden and John Bright.

Assent, The Royal, requires to be given to a bill before it becomes law. It was last withheld by Queen Anne in 1707.

Assiento, The, a "contract," originally between France and Spain, for supplying slaves to the Spanish colonies in America. By an article in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the right to trade in slaves was surrendered to

Great Britain, and it was afterwards confirmed by special treaty. The right was renewed in 1725 and 1748, and expired in 1752.

Assize, the sessions or sittings of a court of justice, especially of itinerant judges.

Attainder, loss of civil rights, titles, and property by a subject, in consequence of conviction for treason. A Bill of Attainder goes through the same course as other bills in Parliament.

Bank of England, proposed by William Paterson, a Scotsman, in 1691. In 1694, Government borrowed £1,200,000 at 8 per cent., and formed the subscribers into a company, to which a charter was granted, allowing it to trade in bullion, bills of exchange, forfeited pledges, etc.

Benefit of clergy, the right claimed by the clergy to exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in certain cases; entirely abolished in 1827.

Bill of Rights, passed in October 1689, confirmed the Declaration of Right (accepted by William and Mary, February 13), in the form of a statute. It declared it to be illegal to suspend or to dispense with any law, to set up such a court as the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, to levy money without consent of Parliament, to maintain a standing army in time of peace without con-

sent of Parliament. It declared that subjects have a right to petition the King, that the election of members to Parliament ought to be free, that speech and debate in Parliament ought to be free and unquestioned, that jurors in cases of high treason should be freeholders, that Parliaments should be held frequently, that William and Mary were King and Queen of Great Britain, and that no Papist and no one who married a Papist should possess the crown.

Billeting, or cantoning, is the method of feeding and lodging soldiers during a campaign by quartering them in private houses.

Blanketeers (1817), a body of discontented Manchester workmen, who met at St. Peter's Fields on March 10, each man carrying a blanket as a greatcoat. They opposed the introduction of machinery, and demanded reform. They meant to join the Derbyshire rioters, and march on London; but the affair collapsed.

Cabinet, the chief ministers of the Sovereign for the time being. Theoretically, it is a committee of the Privy Council, but they are practically independent of each other. The Cabinet is an inner circle of the Ministry or Administration. It is not recognized by the law, and no official record of its proceedings is kept. The Cabinet consists only of the chief ministers, generally twelve in number, and seldom more than fourteen or fifteen. Till the time of William III. the Sovereign chose his ministers individually, and cabinets were therefore mixed. The first homogeneous or united Ministry was the Whig Ministry of 1697. Both William III. and Anne reverted to the system of mixed cabinets, and George I, strove to continue it. The modern system Cabinet holding office only as long as it had the support of a majority of the House of Commons was not fully established till the reign of George II.

Campaign, Plan of, a scheme adopted by the Irish Nationalists in 1886, under which rents declined by landlords as insufficient were deposited with trustees, to be retained until landlords agreed to reductions.

Canada Act (1791), divided Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower.

Catholic Relief Act (1829), admitted Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament, and to occupy all civil and political offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Cave, a small body of seceders from a political party. (See "Adullamites.")

Charter (Lat. carta, a paper), a formal declaration by the King, granting certain rights and privileges either to an individual, to a town or community, or to the nation.

Chartists, a society of men who demanded the extension of political power to the labouring classes. They embodied their demands in "The People's Charter," namely—(1) Universal suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual Parliaments, (4) payment of members of Parliament, (5) abolition of the property qualification of members, (6) equal electoral districts. Recent legislation has gone a long way toward conceding these demands: (2) and (5) have been wholly conceded, (1) and (6) partially.

or united Ministry was the Whig Ministry of 1697. Both William III. on the south-east coast bound to furnish dealinets, and George I. strove to continue it. The modern system of party government by a united of party government by a united of strong II. Strong III. Strong II. Strong III. Strong II. Strong III. Strong II. Strong III. Strong II. Strong III. Strong III. Strong II. Stron

baron with the title of Warden. The office is now purely honorary.

Circuit, a round or district within which a travelling judge holds his courts or assizes.

Closure, a procedure rule of the House of Commons, whereby a debate may be closed and a vote taken if a majority of at least 100 members vote for applying it (1888).

Commission, a written instrument issued by the Crown, and authorizing some person or body to perform certain acts. The Sovereign may open or dissolve Parliament by commission. The name is generally transferred to the person or body authorized, as "the Commission of the Peace," "the Universities Commission." The Treasury is said to be "put into Commission" when the duties of Lord Treasurer are intrusted to a committee of several persons.

Conservatives, the name assumed by the opponents of Parliamentary reform in the debates on the Reform Bills of 1831-32, on the ground that they wished to conserve the constitution. After 1832 the names "Liberal" and "Conservative" began to supersede "Whig" and "Tory."

Consols, a short name for consolidated annuities,-that part of the National Debt which consists of individual annuities consolidated into a single fund.

Convention, an assembly acting as a Parliament, but not summoned by the royal writ; e.g., the Assembly which met on January 22, 1689, which settled the crown on William and Mary, and which was made into a Parliament on February 13.

Convocation, the general assembly of the clergy of the Church of England, divided into two bodies-the Convocation of Canterbury and the lapsed.

They were under the charge of a | Convocation of York. It consists of the archbishop, the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, and archdeacons, ex officio, with elected proctors returned by the clergy of each diocese and each cathedral or collegiate charge. Convocation taxed the clergy and granted subsidies to the King, just as Parliament did, till 1663, when the clergy were taxed by Parliament along with the laity. At that time also the clergy became entitled to vote for members of Parliament, and Convocation ceased to have political importance.

Corporation Act, passed 1661, requiring all municipal officers to renounce the Covenant and to take the sacrament according to the forms of the English Church. Abolished 1828.

Covenant, The National, or Scottish, a deed in which the Scottish Presbyterians bound themselves to defend their religion. It was prepared and signed in 1638.

Customs, customary duties on certain imports and exports, as wine, tea, sugar, silk, wool.

Debates, Publication of Parliamentary, was declared a breach of privilege by the Commons in 1728, and again in 1738. Another attempt to prevent publication was made in 1771, but it was foiled by Wilkes, and the custom has been continued ever since with little hindrance.

Defender of the Faith (Latin F. D. = Fidei Defensor), the title given by Pope Leo X. to Henry VIII., when he wrote his treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, in reply to Luther (1521). The title has been used by all subsequent sovereigns.

Derbyshire Insurrection (1817), a threatened rebellion by discontented workmen of Derby. They meant to march on London, but the affair col-

Dissolution, the breaking up of a Parliament, so that a new House of Commons has to be elected.

Ecclesiastical Titles Act (1851), declared it illegal to assume in Great Britain or Ireland territorial titles conferred by the Pope. Repealed in 1871.

Election Petition, a petition asking the House of Commons to unseat a member because of bribery, corruption, or irregularity in his election. Election petitions were considered in committee of the whole House, and were treated as party questions till 1770. In that year the hearing of such petitions was given to a select committee of thirteen members. In 1868 the duty was transferred to the judges.

Exchequer, Court of, the court in which the financial business of the country was attended to: so called from the checkered cloth with which the table of the court-room was covered.

Excise Duties, duties on articles of consumption and home manufacture. as spirits, beer, cider, groceries; and on licenses for certain trades. Same as assessment.

Franchise, the right of voting for a member of Parliament (literally, free-The franchise now belongs, both in counties and in boroughs, to all resident householders, or rated occupants of dwelling-houses, after pavment of one year's rates; to persons occupying lodgings of the value of £10 unfurnished (lodger franchise); to persons occupying a dwellinghouse, or part of one, as part of their wages (service franchise); to graduates, in university constituencies.

Freehold, land held by a free tenure-that is, by knight service or socage; opposed to villein tenure.

Grattan's Parliament (1782), an

till 1800. In 1782 the British Parliament repealed the Act of 1719, enabling the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland, and the Permanent Mutiny Act of 1781.

Habeas Corpus Act, passed 1679, prevents the detention in jail of any unconvicted prisoner beyond a limited The accused must within twenty days be either brought to trial or released on bail. The Act is named from the opening words of the judge's writ addressed to the jailer: Habeas corpus, ad faciendum, subjiciendum, et recipiendum, etc.-"Thou art to produce the body, to do, submit, and receive what the court shall order, "etc.

Home Rule League, established as the Home Government Association in 1870: objects-to obtain for Ireland the right of managing her own affairs by an Irish Parliament: to secure for that Parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, and control over Irish revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing a just proportion to the Imperial expenditure. The title was changed to the "Home Rule League" in 1873.

Impeachment, the trial of an offender at the bar of the House of Lords, by order of the House of Commons; for example, impeachment of Warren Hastings, 1786.

Income tax, a direct tax on each man's profits for the year, whether derived from property or from trading. Probably its earliest use was by the Long Parliament in December 1642. The modern income tax dates from 1798.

Indemnity, Act of (1818), securing from punishment or damage those who, during the previous year, had independent Irish legislature; lasted been engaged in arresting persons on

suspicion of sedition, or in dispersing seditious meetings.

Irish Union (1801), established one Parliament for Great Britain and Ireland. Ireland was to be represented in the Imperial Parliament by 28 peers elected for life, and 100 commoners. Equality of trade was established. The Irish Law Courts and the Protestant Episcopal Established Church were to be maintained.

Jacobites. The adherents of the Stuarts were so called because they supported James II. (Latin, Jacobus) against William III., and James the Old Pretender against George I. On behalf of the latter James, the first Jacobite rebellion took place in 1715. The second Jacobite rebellion was undertaken in 1745, on behalf of his son Charles Edward, the Young Chevalier. Both were failures.

Jewish Relief Act (1858), admitted Jews to Parliament by enabling either House to modify its oath by a resolution.

Land League, Irish, founded in 1879, to secure changes in the Irish land laws which would give better terms to tenants. The Land League was declared an illegal body in 1881.

Libel, a malicious statement made for the purpose of injuring some one's character or reputation.

Libel Act (1792). Lord Mansfield having laid it down in the Junius case (1770) that the jury have no right to decide whether a statement is libellous, but only whether it has been published, Fox's Act was passed in 1792, allowing the jury to decide what constitutes a libel as well as the fact of publication. This placed the freedom of the press under the protection of juries.

Liberals, the name assumed by the advocates of reform when its opponents were called Conservatives.

Liberal Unionists, the name adopted by those Liberals who separated from Mr. Gladstone when he adopted Home Rule as part of his Irish policy.

Licensing Act, first passed in 1692, to give the Government control of all printing. It was renewed from time to time. The refusal of the Commons to renew it in 1695 established the freedom of the press. The Censorship of the Press was at the same time abandoned.

Local Government Board, constituted in 1871, had the powers and duties of the Poor Law Board transferred to it; also the powers and duties of the Home Secretary regarding registration of births, deaths, and marriages, public health, etc.; and also the powers and duties of the Privy Council regarding vaccination and the prevention of disease. The president is a member of the Ministry.

Manchester Massacre (1819). On August 16, a great reform meeting in St. Peter's Fields was dispersed by yeomanry. The affair was called in derision the battle of "Peterloo."

Marriage Act, Royal (1772), preventing any descendant of George II. from making a legal marriage without the consent of the Sovereign, unless he or she be 25 years of age, and have given 12 months' notice to the Privy Council, and unless the marriage shall not have been petitioned against by Parliament.

Martial law, the body of rules ordained for the government of an army, and administered by courts-martial.

Methuen Treaty, concluded with Portugal in 1703, by Sir Paul Methuen. By it English woollen goods were admitted into Portugal, and Portuguese wines were admitted into England at two-thirds of the duty on French wines.

Mutiny Act, first enacted in 1689, owing to the mutiny of a Scottish regiment at Ipswich. Previously mutiny and desertion had been treated as ordinary felonies punishable with imprisonment; now they were made punishable with death, or such lighter penalty as a court-martial might deem sufficient. As the Act is passed only for one year at a time, it affords an indirect security for the annual summoning of Parliament.

National Debt, originated in 1693, when Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, borrowed one million sterling at 10 per cent. interest, secured on duties on liquors. Another loan of £1,200,000 was contracted in 1694, in the form of the capital of the Bank of England. In 1697, the debt exceeded twenty millions.

In 1748 the debt was 78 million. 11763 139 .. 11 1783 268 ,, ıı 1815 880 11 .. n 1883 756 ft ıı 1890 690

Wationalists, Irish, those Irish members of Parliament who supported Home Rule.

Nomination Boroughs, boroughs in which there were very few voters, and in which the member was practically nominated by some peer or powerful land-owner. Also called "pocket" and "rotten" boroughs.

Nonconformists, persons who refuse to conform to the worship and doctrine of the Established Church. (See "Uniformity.")

Non-jurors, the bishops (7) and clergymen (300) who refused to take the new oath of allegiance and supremacy imposed on all place-holders in Church and State by the Parliament of 1689. Archbishop Sancroft was the most distinguished of them. The body did not become extinct till 1805.

There were Presbyterian non-jurors in Scotland.

Oath Bill, Military and Naval Officers' (1817), opened all ranks in army and navy to Dissenters and Roman Catholics.

Occasional Conformity Prevention Act (1711), made it penal for any officer, civil or military, or any magistrate, to comply with the Test Act on his appointment, and afterwards to attend conventicles. It was repealed in 1718.

Paper Duty, a duty on manufactured paper, abolished in 1861.

Parnellites, followers of Mr. C. S. Parnell, the advocate of Home Rule for Ireland. After his deposition from the leadership, the party was broken up into Parnellites and anti-Parnellites.

Patronage, Lay, the right of the heritors in each parish to present to livings in the Church of Scotland; restored by the Act of 1712. This led to the Disruption of 1843. By the Act of 1874, patronage was transferred to the communicants and adherents of each church.

Peelites, disciples of Sir Robert Peel, who, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, formed an intermediate party between the Conservatives and the Liberals. Prominent Peelites were Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Sir James Graham.

Penal Laws, laws involving the punishment of offenders.

Petitions. Petitioning the King was declared to be a right of the subject in the Bill of Rights (1689). Those who presented the Kent petition in 1701 were imprisoned. In 1780, the great Yorkshire petition for economical reform was accepted by Parliament, and thus the modern system of petitioning was established.

Placemen, members of Parliament holding offices under the Crown. An Act was passed in 1708 excluding from Parliament holders of pensions from the Crown, and of offices created after October 25, 1705. Holders of offices existing before that date were required to vacate their seats, but might be re-elected.

Poor Law Board, a Government department for the supervision of the administering of the poor laws: constituted in 1847; absorbed in the Local Government Board in 1871.

Prerogative. The Royal, the sum of the powers legally vested in and exercised by the Crown.

Presbyterianism, or Presbytery, that form of church government in which all the clergy or presbyters are of the same rank.

Privy Council, the whole body of the sworn advisers of the Sovereign. No member attends its meetings unless specially summoned. As an administrative body it has been entirely superseded by the Cabinet (q.v.). It, however, exercises certain functions through committees, as the Judicial Committee, the Education Committee, the Universities' Committee.

Prorogation, the postponement of Parliament from one session to another.

Protectionists, those members of the Tory party who broke off from Peel when he repealed the Corn Laws in 1846. They wished to afford "protection" to the British farmers and land-owners.

Purchase in the Army, the system by which commissions, authorizing officers to discharge their duties, were bought and sold. It was abolished in 1871, the royal warrant legalising purchase being withdrawn.

Radicals, or radical reformers, a body of politicians who demanded one Parliament for England and

thorough changes in the Constitution. The demand for "radical reforms" was made by C. J. Fox in 1797. After the French Revolution (1789) the Radicals were regarded, even by Whigs, as revolutionists and rebels. During the Reform agitation (1830-32) and afterwards, the name was applied to the most advanced Liberals, and lost its disreputable character.

Regulating Act (1773), Lord North's Act for the regulation of the government of India. It established a Supreme Court of Justice, made the Governor of Bengal Governor-General of India, and constituted a Council of five.

Repealers, the followers of Daniel O'Connell, who advocated the Repeal of the Union of Ireland with Great Britain.

Right. Declaration of, the statement drawn up by the Convention in 1689 of the arbitrary and illegal acts of James II., and of the rights and liberties claimed for the people and the Parliament. Its substance was embodied in the Bill of Rights (q.v.) passed by Parliament in the same year.

Riot Act (1715), passed in consequence of riots connected with the Jacobite rising: made it felony for twelve or more persons to continue together for one hour after a proclamation by a justice of the peace or a sheriff, bidding them disperse. Practically, it authorized the calling out of the military to disperse riotous mobs, and indemnified them for any injury they might commit.

Schism Act (1714), requiring all schoolmasters to be members of the Church of England, and to be licensed by a bishop. It was repealed in 1718.

Scottish Union (1707), established

Scotland. Scotland was represented in the Imperial Parliament by 16 elective peers and 45 commoners. The Protestant succession was confirmed. Equality of trade was established. The Scottish Law Courts and the Scottish Established Church were to be maintained.

Secretaries of State, heads of the chief departments of the Government. There are five principal Secretaries of State, who are members of the Cabinet-Home, Foreign, Colonial, War. and India. From the reign of Elizabeth to that of George III. there were only two Secretaries of State, distinguished as Northern and Southern. In 1782 the duties were divided into Home and Foreign. In 1794 a Secretary for War was added. In 1801 War and the Colonies were placed under one Secretary. In 1854 they were separated. In 1858 the Secretary for India was added; and in 1885 the Secretary for Scotland.

Sedition, an offence against the State not amounting to treason. The Sedition Act (1795) forbade political meetings unless advertised beforehand, and empowered two justices to disperse them if they thought them dangerous.

septennial Act (1716), prolonged the possible duration of any Parliament to seven years. The excuse for it was the disturbed state of the country, owing to the Jacobite rebellion of 1715.

Six Acts, The (1819), a series of Acts passed hurriedly for the suppression of sedition and blasphemy, and to prevent the military training of private persons. The Acts were violently opposed in Parliament by the Radicals.

sliding Scale Act, an Act, passed in 1828, for regulating the import duty on corn. The duty was reduced of England. Abolished 1828.

as the price of corn rose. The duty was £1, 5s. 8d. when the average price of English wheat was under 62s. a quarter. For every shilling added to the price of wheat, one shilling was taken off the duty.

Spanish Succession, War of the (1702), arose out of the Partition Treaties (q.v.) of 1698 and 1700. Charles II. of Spain bequeathed the whole of his possessions to Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France. The Treaty of Utrecht ended the war (1713).

Speaker, The, the President of the House of Commons; so called because he is the spokesman of the House in addressing the Crown.

statute (lit. something set up), a formal Act of Parliament. From the time of Edward III., statutes were founded on Petitions of the Commons to the King. In the reign of Henry V., the King agreed not to alter the petitions. In that of Henry VI., the statutes were introduced in the form of Bills, as a more certain way of preventing alterations.

Succession Act, or Act of Settlement (1701), settled the crown first on Anne, then on the Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants. The Sovereign was not to leave Great Britain without consent of the Parliament. Judges were to receive fixed salaries, and were to be appointed ad vitam aut culpam.

Suffrage, a vote (Lat. suffragium). Supremacy, the position and authority of the Sovereign as head both of Church and of State, "in all causes and over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil."

Test Act, passed in 1673, requiring all persons holding any office under the Crown to take the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. Abolished 1828.

Toleration Act, passed May 24, 1689, relaxed the most stringent conditions of the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1664), and the Five Mile Act (1665)

Tories, the name given to the "Court party" or "Abhorrers," who opposed the Exclusion Bill in 1679. The word, meaning "a robber," originally belonged to a set of Irish outlaws about 1654, and was applied in contempt to the Romanist supporters of James II. (See "Conservatives.")

Trade, Board of, a Government department constituted by Order in Council in 1786. Its powers and duties have been greatly enlarged since. These relate to harbours, mercantile marine, finance, commerce, railways and fisheries, patents, bankruptcy. The president is a member of the Ministry.

Treason, an act of treachery to the Sovereign as the head of the State, such as compassing the death of the King, levying war against the King, aiding the King's enemies. The Treason Act (1795) declared the writing or speaking of words against the King's authority to be treason.

Treason-felony, a new crime created during the Irish disturbances in 1848. By the Security Act then passed, exciting to sedition by writing or speaking was made treasonfelony, and was punishable with penal servitude.

Triennial Act, passed in 1694, limited the duration of a Parliament to three years, and provided that three years should not pass without a Parliament.

Trimmers, politicians who sometimes voted with the Whigs and sometimes with the Tories.

Uniformity, agreement of all subjects in using and observing the same forms of worship. Important Acts of Uniformity were passed in 1549, 1559, and 1662. Ecclesiastical agreement is also called *conformity*, and its opponents are Nonconformists.

University Tests, religious or theological tests, excluding dissenters from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from the colleges and fellowships therein, were abolished in 1871. The theological tests, requiring all professors in the Scottish universities to be members of the Established Church, were abolished in 1861, excepting in the case of the theological chairs. Tests were abolished in Dublin University in 1873.

Utrecht, Treaty of (1713), ended the War of the Spanish Succession. France acknowledged the Protestant succession in Great Britain.

Whigs, the name given to the Opposition in the time of Charles II. (See "Petitioners.") They were, in fact, the same party that had opposed the arbitrary acts of James I. and Charles I., sometimes called the "Country" party, as distinguished from the "Court" or Tory party. "Whig" is an abbreviation of "Whiggamore," a name given in derision to the Covenanters in the south-west of Scotland, and derived probably from "Whig, whig," the call used in urging on their horses. "Liberals.")

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